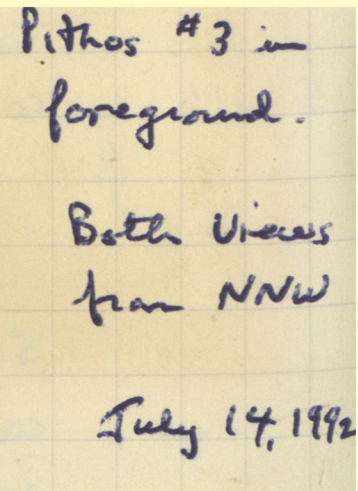
EDITED BY

KEVIN F. DALY AND LEE ANN RICCARDI

CITIES CALLED ATHENS

Studies Honoring John McK. Camp II



Cities Called Athens

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Studies Honoring John McK. Camp II

presented by his Students and
edited by Kevin F. Daly and Lee Ann Riccardi

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Dedicated to John Camp from his students
with our deepest gratitude and respect

Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning.

Yi-Fu Tuan
from "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective," in *Philosophy in Geography*, S. Gale and G. Olsson, ed. (Dordrecht, 1979) 235.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

The idea of this collection was born on a bus trip to Marathon. We realized on the bus that day that one of the reasons we were making the journey was because we had studied with John Camp and had absorbed from him the infectious love he has for Athens and all things Athenian. John's skilled teaching and boundless generosity with his time and ideas had helped make Athens a second home for us, as it has been for him for close to fifty years now. We both had traveled to Marathon with him, and we both have indelible memories from those and countless other trips around Greece we have made with him which continue to influence the way we think, the way we research, and the way we teach.

This collection, like its honoree, embraces different fields and sub-fields within the broad sweep of Classics and Classical Archaeology. The only charge given to our authors was to consider something Attic or Athenian. As various scholarly disciplines admit different conventions and habits, so too does this volume. While we have attempted to standardize the format and style of the text as much as possible, we have also decided not to force our authors to stray from the practices most suited to their own specialty. For that reason, a paper that studies pottery may not italicize the word oinochoe, while a topographical paper that uses the same word may. Many of us have over the years heard John Camp start a sentence in the following manner, "No matter what you want to call it, what's interesting is. . . ." We have considered it our concern herein to spend more time worrying about that latter clause.

It has not escaped the editors' sense of irony that the completion of this volume has itself become something of a marathon. Various interruptions

and distractions, mostly justifiable, disrupted our timetable and delayed the completion of this project, but like the Athenian-led forces at Marathon, it came together at last. In its final form this collection has benefited from the contributions of numerous individuals, including the authors, anonymous reviewers, students, and editors. We thank them all for their hard work, patience, and good cheer.

We also single out for thanks the staff of the Athenian Agora: Jan Jordan, Sylvie Dumont, Angelique Sideris, Bruce Hartzler, and Craig Mauzy, who somehow managed to supply us with permissions, photos, and drawings, while also keeping John in the dark about what we were doing. We also thank Jim Sickinger, who assisted us in many ways throughout the process, and Carol Stein, whose expertise and cheerful guidance got us through the final stages of preparing the manuscript. Camilla MacKay also deserves special thanks for exceeding the role of contributor. Her support was invaluable. We would also like to thank Bucknell University and its Provost, Mick Smyer, for providing a subvention for the illustrations.

Lastly, and most of all, however, we thank John Camp.

List of Abbreviations

ABV	John D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
AE	*L'Année Épigraphique*, published in *Revue Archéologique* and separately.
Agora 1	Evelyn B. Harrison. *Portrait Sculpture.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1953.
Agora 3	R. E. Wycherley. *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957.
Agora 8	Eva T. H. Brann. *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, Mid 8th to Late 7th Centuries B.C.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1962.
Agora 12	Brian A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott. *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.*, 1970.
Agora 18	Daniel J. Geagan. *Inscriptions: The Dedicatory Monuments.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2011.
Agora 19	Gerald V. Lalonde, Merle K. Langdon, and Michael B. Walbank. *Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1991.

Agora 21	Mabel L. Lang. *Graffiti and Dipinti.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1978.
Agora 23	Mary B. Moore and Mary Zelia Pease Philippides. *Attic Black-Figured Pottery*. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1986.
Agora 24	Alison Frantz. *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1988.
Agora 25	Mabel L. Lang. *Ostraka.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1990.
Agora 27	Rhys F. Townsend. *The East Side of the Agora: The Remains Beneath the Stoa of Attalos.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1995.
Agora 28	Alan L. Boegehold. *The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1995.
Agora 29	Susan I. Rotroff. *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1997.
Agora 31	Margaret M. Miles. *The City Eleusinion.* Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1998.
Agora 35	Janet Burnett Grossman. *Funerary Sculpture*. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2013.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*.
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
ArchDelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*.
ARV^2	John D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1963.
Beazley Archive	http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm.
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.
BMC Arabia	George F. Hill. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*. London: The British Museum, 1922.

BMC Caria	Barclay V. Head. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc*. London, 1897.
BMC Cyprus	George F. Hill. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*. London: The British Museum, 1904.
BMC Galatia	Warwick Wroth. *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadoccia, and Syria*. London: The British Museum, 1899.
BMC Peloponnesos	Percy Gardner. *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Peloponnesos (excluding Corinth)*. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1963.
BMC Pontus	Warwick Wroth. *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus*. London: The British Museum, 1889.
BMC Ptolemies	Reginald Stuart Poole. *Catalogue of Greek Coins. The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt*. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1963.
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
CEG	Peter A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica graeca*. Vol. 1, *Saeculorum VIII–V a.Chr.n.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983.
CEG 2	Peter A. Hansen. *Carmina epigraphica graeca.* Vol. 2, *Saeculi IV a.Chr n.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989.
Corinth 11	Charles H. Morgan. *The Byzantine Pottery*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942.
Corinth 15.1	Agnes Newhall Stillwell. *The Potters' Quarter*. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1948.
DAA	Antony E. Raubitschek. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 1949.
FGrH	Felix Jacoby. *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 4 vols. Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1923-1999.
*ID*élos	F. Dürrbach (ed.), *Inscriptions de Délos*. 8 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1923-1937.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*.
IOSPE	Vasilii Latyschev. *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*. Vol. 1^2, *Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae*. St. Petersburg, 1916.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. 8 vols. Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1981-2009.
LGPN	Michael J. Osborne and Sean G. Byrne. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. 2, *Attica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
LSAG	Lilian H. Jeffery. *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. 2nd ed. Revised by Alan W. Johnston. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
LSCG	Franciszek Sokolowski. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris: De Boccard, 1969.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Revised by Henry Stuart Jones, Eric A. Barber, and Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
OCD	Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, ed. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
PA	Johannes Kirchner. *Prosopographia Attica*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1901-1903.
Para	John D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
RE	August Friedrich von Pauly, Georg Wissowa, and Wilhelm Kroll. *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1894-1980.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
SNG von Aulock	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. 18 vols. *Sammlung von Aulock*. Berlin, 1957-1981.
Suda	Vasiles Katsaros, ed. *Βυζαντινό Λεξικό Σουϊδα*. Thessaloniki: Thyrathen Ekdoseis, 2002.
TrGF	Bruno Snell, Richard Kannicht, and Stefan Radt, eds. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 4 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971-1986.

Introduction

Kevin F. Daly and Lee Ann Riccardi

The second-century CE traveler Pausanias reaches the Peloponnesian territory of Tegea in the eighth book of his *Description of Greece*.[1] There his description includes notice of a sanctuary of Athena, an *agora*, and a theatre. As elsewhere, the report appears selective, and this selectivity no doubt centers on matters of audience and of personal preference. He is, then, both producer and consumer: he reports what he thinks should be reported to his assumed audience. Due to the limitations of written media such selective description is of course implicit for most literary genres (both ancient and modern), but there is more to Pausanias' manner of reporting than reductive selectivity. Importantly, sometimes we encounter not only what Pausanias judges worthy of description, but also how Pausanias imagines what he describes might best be conceived by his readers. On occasion he uses similes, and this figurative language tells us much about the way the author framed his own descriptions and how the audience was meant to imagine the sites and monuments under discussion.

While other imagery might be considered, of special concern for the purposes of this introductory note are notions of space, place, orientation, and shape. When Pausanias starts to describe Tegea's *agora*, he begins, "But within the *agora*, which is for the most part like a brick in design, . . ."[2] As any modern traveler to Mediterranean lands will know, in the broad temporal and chronological sweep of Greek and Roman history, bricks come in various shapes, sizes, and compositions. The unfired bricks exposed in city walls of the Kerameikos excavation in Athens surely would have constituted for many Greeks of a certain period what a brick should look like: brown, rectangular, square in section, and sun

baked. But this is may not be the same type of brick imagined by Pausanias or his second-century CE contemporaries. Roman-era bricks are often red, square, rectangular in section, and fired. This simple example of a metaphorical brick tells us much about how an imagined *koine* of shape and structure shared between author and audience might alter due to, among other things, technology, mobility, trade, political dominance, local preference, and, of course, time.[3]

Perhaps more importantly, the brick image also tells us what an imagined *agora* in Pausanias' day should *not* look like in the mind's eye. That is, in all the descriptions of markets that appear in Pausanias, Tegea's is the only one whose shape merits this analogy (if, that is, shape is what Pausanias intends to convey by using this image).[4] It is a marketplace of peculiar enough design that it needs to be imagined—and therefore described—differently.[5] Only via this descriptive simile does the brick-like *agora* of Tegea appear in the reader's mind in a way that approximates the real market visited by Pausanias in the manner perceived by the traveler himself. Without this spatial guidance, the readers would have, one assumes, thought of an *agora* of different shape, perhaps one *exactly* like a brick, or perhaps one *not at all* like a brick, or perhaps some shape (but which?) *somewhere between these extremes*.[6]

That a stone-and-earth site can be viewed as, or reduced to the notion of a particular shape, space, or place (each with its own concomitant and constituent assumptions) may very well be a universal human ability, but it is also most certainly a Greek and Roman one.[7] Apart from the more obvious fictive cities, kingdoms, and locales "built" in ancient literature and art (e.g., Sophokles' Thebes or the scenes depicted in developed Roman wall painting), Plato's allegorical Cave proves especially instructive with regard to how his audience might conceive of a complex issue via sophisticated spatial means. The Cave says less about an actual or potential cave than it does about pitfalls of material perception. It is therefore instructive (and perhaps a little ironic) that the philosopher constructs a three-dimensional imagined place to consider the problem of discernment. Here the laws of physics—the pull of gravity, the energy of light, and the strength of metal—all seemingly pertain, but the place itself and the space in which it lies are unreal. Place has become a means to think about an idea.

Likewise it seems that ideas themselves can shape how one perceives an area. When Aeschines takes his listening jurors on an imaginary journey to the Stoa Poikile (*Against Ctesiphon* 186), where paintings honor Athens' past heroes, or to the theater (*Against Ctesiphon* 153), where a (potential) future announcement of Demosthenes' crown precedes a tragic performance, he creates an Athenian topography of freedom and martial prowess marked by selective places and events.[8] In this tour the

notion of patriotism becomes linked to a specific map of the city wherein specific buildings and events within those buildings gain special prominence. Similarly, the preserved Athenian ephebic oath (Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 77) invokes as witnesses the boundary markers of the homeland (ὅροι τῆς πατρίδος) as well as particular crops within that space—wheat, barley, vines, olive trees, fig trees (πυροί, κριθαί, ἄμπελοι, ἐλάαι, συκαῖ)—all of which apparently join the notion of ascendance to adulthood with a particular reading of the countryside's limit and contents.

While spatial thinking has a clear ancient root, using space or representations of space as a topic of analysis as well as a means of analysis has become increasingly common today in Classical studies as well as those of the other humanities, social sciences, and hard sciences. Indeed one can speak of a "spatial turn" in scholarly inquiry.[9] For field archaeologists, who have always had to think in at least four dimensions, the most obvious change this type of thinking has created has probably been at a fundamental level, in the boom of collecting and organizing data via GIS.[10] In a related phenomenon, terms suggesting proximity such as "trade center" or "center of production" and "periphery" have become more theoretically and practically grounded by heightened attention to spatial detail.[11] Moreover, in recent years cultural historians have more readily considered the role of region and landscape in constituting societal views and practices.[12] Of course scholars more inclined to literary study have long used spatial thought within the framework of structuralist theories. Mental maps have become commonplace methods of interpretation as well as objects of study themselves. One might say that data collection and data analysis have firmly entered the space age.

But drawing mental maps can prove to be a tricky business. First, there is significant evidence that spatial thinking among the uninitiated masses differs distressingly from those versed in spatial studies.[13] Thus "common sense" may be neither common nor immediately recognizable as sensible in matters of space and place. Second, some studies suggest that cultures vary widely in their conception of space and orientation.[14] Finally, spatial thinking becomes all the more problematic when the distance of time makes our view a bit cloudy. Indeed, anachronistic assumptions regarding ancient space and shape sometimes have led to widespread misapprehensions. To return to concrete examples of built features, the evidence of rectilinear theater seating from Classical Attica has redrawn—or at least problematized—ancient orchestras and thereby the activity that an orchestra's particular shape was itself meant to convey or to bound. While later theater orchestras of the ancient world are indeed round (thus the misunderstanding of early design had a material source), it may also be that the Elizabethan theatre (real or imagined) created an assumption of shape that easily fit ancient evidence as well as proved palatable to think-

ers of that age.[15] Similarly, the notion of a "square" meaning "market square" entered into the written (English) record as early as the sixteenth century CE. That a qualification ("square") was needed suggests an earlier conception of a market, but nonetheless, the comfortable, ensconced notion of a square-shaped market has led no few to describe the Athenian *agora* as a "market square."[16] John Camp has taken pains to point out that at present the extant archaeological evidence suggests that the *agora* of Archaic Athens might best be conceived as a triangle.[17] That such a point needs to be highlighted says much about the lens through which we read ancient evidence. If the past is a foreign country, we need to make sure we pack—and unpack—appropriately. And a guide can be very useful indeed.

The examples from Athens and Attica presented above are not chosen lightly. For students of the ancient world Athens has long had its own powerful evidentiary gravity to which many modes of investigation and analysis have been drawn. Nonetheless scholars have occasionally attempted to resist the special pull of Athens.[18] Such endeavors, while enormously productive, also highlight the underlining assumption of Athens' prominence in much of what scholars (especially in the historical periods) address. But if Athens is in some sense irreplaceable, that does not also mean that it should not be resituated occasionally.

What shape is Athens? Better said, what maps should be assumed when thinking about Athens of a particular period? What provides its shape? Topography? Economy? Gender? Should the *polis*-center lie at the center of such a view, or at its periphery? What did particular spaces within Athens mean as a constituent of the *habitus* of those who lived in, near, or far from them? How were those places defined? How was orientation used? Who was known as an insider? Who an outsider? What does an Athenian object look like, compared to the non-Athenian version of the same thing? How do these objects add to a definition of Athens? This book explores the various maps, shapes, orientations, and dispositions of Athens and things Athenian in multiple eras. In short, then, we each explore different cities all named Athens.

The fourteen studies contained in this volume embrace a wide range of topics, but our main aim was to explore how Athens, Athenian ideas, and the idea of Athens have shaped scholarship in various disciplines and vice versa. Thus while the domain of the studies touch on many of the various subfields associated with the broader field of Classics (archaeology, philology, art history, history, topography, iconography, epigraphy, etc.), the role of Athens has provided a unifying concern. For students of the ancient world, the city will forever remain a place we will always want to examine and always need to know better.

A driving goal of this collection is also to honor one of the city's great scholars and guides, John Camp. Any journey—whether literal or scholarly—through the topography, monuments, and history of Attica requires a starting point. For over ten years now John Camp's book *The Archaeology of Athens* has provided a first step and a basic framework by which to contemplate such a trip. It is a remarkably capacious and influential study that lies at the intersections between history, literature, archaeology, and topography. The Athens a generation of students and scholars has come to know gets its shape and texture from this work and indeed from John Camp himself. Whether as Mellon Professor at the American School of Classical Studies, or Resident Director, and now Director, of the Agora Excavations, he has generously lent us his vision of the ancient city, and this vision gives shape and focus to our own. The present collection endeavors to provide added depth and nuance to John's work, which has, like the man himself, become something of a landmark in Athenian studies. This volume also serves as a small measure of thanks from some of his former students who were lucky enough to follow him as he led us through Atheusand Africa.

Wendy Closterman takes on an iconographic puzzle from the fourth century BCE by exploring banquet scenes on Athenian funerary stelai. They are limited in number but have provocative imagery. While such *Totenmahl* have often been viewed as singular and specific, Closterman instead interprets the iconography of such depictions as fitting within the broader and more generic tradition of family gatherings known from numerous other grave reliefs. Her article includes a review of the commonalities and distinctions within such images, as well as a critique of previous scholarship, including those strands of interpretation that have viewed these scenes as representative of symposia (whether contemporary or from an idealized past) that focused principally on a reclining male or males. Closterman's study usefully complicates our reading of such images by noting that women's names appear frequently, that metics often chose such representations, and that a diverse range of individuals were depicted on these stelai. These reliefs, then, may have depicted domestic dining scenes as a subcategory of scenes of family gathering. In Closterman's Athens, these commemorations show that 'family' was broadly defined and constructed through the role each member fulfilled, as well as through bloodlines.

Kevin Daly's discovery of a structure atop a mountain between modern Megara and Athens leads him to investigate the spatial implications of this find. In particular, he queries the historical size and shape of Attica, as well as the date and purpose of the fortification system used to defend the region. Daly concludes that at certain periods the notional size of

ancient Athenian lands often reached far beyond where many conventional modern depictions allow. Furthermore, he suggests that Athenians constructed defensive structures in their countryside far earlier than the prevailing view suggests. Daly shows us an Attica, therefore, that is flexible and mutable, where territorial edges were interpreted broadly rather than through physical boundaries, and where those on the inside viewed the borders differently than those on the outside.

Examining the delineation of sacred spaces in ancient Attica, Laura Gawlinski aims to determine how such areas were kept secure. While she demonstrates that barriers could be physical, notional, or both, Gawlinski makes clear that socio-political institutions often provided the most robust security, particularly in the Archaic and Classical periods. Indeed she argues that the presence of fortification at some sacred sites (e.g., the Athenian Acropolis) was not the product of a desire to secure the sacred, but rather the result of defensive concerns. Sacred objects were put in a fortified place; the fortification was not made for the objects. Gawlinski's examination of these areas also points out that sanctuaries had gradations of security within a sacred area, that security was often the responsibility of several actors, and that defense of these sacred spaces very much depended on a shared sense of responsibility toward the gods. Gawlinski reveals an Attica where cultural, social, and political mores guide the behavior of insiders more forcefully than physical barriers such as walls and fences.

Seán Hemingway uses imagery of the eagle at Athens as the centerpiece to his wide ranging look at how this bird was associated with Zeus in Greek art and literature from the Bronze Age through Hellenistic period (with a brief nod to Rome). Among other Attic representations, his survey cites the work of the Eucharides Painter as well as the (speculative) inclusion of the eagle in the Parthenon's sculptural program. Of particular concern to the author are the first instances in these various eras that show Zeus and the raptor together and the adoption of the eagle into the coinage of Alexander and the Ptolemies. While Hemingway includes media and depictions made in multiple periods, his study gives special attention to small finds and to the use of eagle imagery on objects from the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Hemingway's study shows that the eagle of Zeus belonged to an iconographic tradition shared throughout the Greek world, as well as one used in Athens itself. His Athens, therefore, is part of a larger Greek whole, and his study makes clear that Athenians shared the cultural symbols used in the rest of Greece.

Catherine M. Keesling ventures to the height of the city, the Athenian Acropolis, to look at how the evidence provided by two monuments' dedicatory epigrams might bear on the interpretation of Solon's reform of property classes described in the *Athenaion Politeia*. As both documents,

IG 1^3.831 and the epigram of *Ath. Pol.* 7.4, appear to contain class-terms central to the Solonian system, their prominence of place has been taken as evidence for the lasting importance of these gradations of civic status as defined by the great lawgiver. Keesling, however, suggests alternative readings for these texts, thereby removing references to class-status, and she then situates each in a far different cultural context. The support these documents were meant to provide for an early fifth-century Solonian outlook on class thus vanishes. Keesling notably devotes special attention to the unusual nature of the monuments themselves. Via a careful examination of shape and social practice, she demonstrates that the first text appears on a marble bowl meant to house a bronze *lebes* and is thus probably best understood as an athletic victory monument. Keesling then suggests that the second text perhaps never appeared on a physical monument at all; instead, the existence of a noteworthy and particularly prominent monument was used to craft a learned joke that subsequently entered the literary record. Thus we learn something about elite humor in Keesling's Athens, and we also discover that the Solonian social class system is less well attested in the classical period than has been believed.

Nancy Klein's study examines the number and design of the small limestone buildings on the Athenian Acropolis in the historical period before Pericles. She reviews previous scholarship on the topic and then turns her attention to what the details of her own examination of the architectural members reveal. Her study of these blocks looks not only at those of tell-tale shape and clear orientation, but also at tool marks, repairs, and evidence of demolition. These details lead to inferences regarding the overall makeup of the early- and pre-Classical hilltop. A surprisingly high number of structures are revealed. Klein speculates how these buildings' blocks may have come to the Acropolis and how they might have been used in later times. What emerges is a diachronic picture of particular building elements, from primary function to later deposition, and, finally, to archaeological interpretation. The Athenian Acropolis shown by Klein was therefore a highly built environment in its early phases but also a living and changing one, where Athenians responsible for its upkeep and appearance were able to adapt to changing conditions and changing societal needs.

Combining ethnoarchaeological studies with her knowledge of recent finds in Athens and elsewhere, Elizabeth Langridge-Noti attempts to frame a broad picture of the elements shaping the Athenian pottery trade. The starting point for the enquiry—and a persistent touchstone throughout the study—is the evidence provided by the work of the Eucharides Painter. Her particular interest centers on the various interfaces and midpoints between producer and consumer. She analyzes workshop size and constituency so as to understand what factors contributed to the

similarities and differences in the composition of vessels. She also studies the various networks of distribution of pottery for both the domestic and export markets as revealed by findspots, literary sources, shipwrecks, the diction of trade, and topography. Langridge-Noti makes clear that the varied and sometimes divergent evidence strongly points not to a single, easily defined system of trade, but a diverse and flexible market subject to multiple pressures. Langridge-Noti's Athens, then, is a ceramics hub, but one that responds to the needs of markets in the Mediterranean world.

By closely analyzing amphoras excavated at sites in and near Attica dating to the time of the Chremonidean War, Mark Lawall scrutinizes the dates of conflict itself as well as the network of Aegean trade-routes in operation near Athens at the time. Lawall's study maps out the period in terms of sites and representative amphora typologies and amphora stamps. Besides developing a general amphorological picture of the region in this period, Lawall also devotes particular attention to two key sites of Athenian Hellenistic landscape and chronology: the military camp at Koroni and the Compartment Wall on the Hill of the Muses. In the end Lawall downdates the Compartment Wall and tightly restricts the dates of the Koroni assemblages. Lawall's study thereby presents a new and exacting investigation of particular local (and historical) landmarks as well as a broader view of a regional economy in wartime. His Attica is one where military actions affect and shape its trading patterns, and where domestic and imported amphora fragments have left behind evidence that helps him to better interpret the chronology of military activity in Attica.

Kathleen Lynch presents a longitudinal study of assemblages associated with the symposium from the Athenian Agora as a means to contemplate sympotic ceramics inside Athens during the Archaic and Classical periods. While the study offers something of a short-course on pottery development for these eras, it also suggests potential motivations for the changes Lynch observes. As Athens served as the point of production for much sympotic pottery as well as the central source for literature about communal drinking in the historical period, her work serves as an important baseline study for other regions and other ages. The ceramic producers in Lynch's Athens were trend-setters in the Greek world and initiated many of the shapes and decorations associated with the Greek institution of the symposium.

Camilla MacKay studies three Late Medieval kilns and their associated pottery discovered during the excavations of the 1930s in the Athenian Agora. These contexts and contents are, to date, not well known. She focuses on two characteristic styles: glazed-painted sgraffito and majolica imitation. Published here for the first time are four bowls of the former type as well as up-to-date images of the latter. Although MacKay assesses potential vectors of external influence and notes similarities with other

regions, she also notes that the style of these kiln assemblages indicates that Athenian potters may have remained to some degree isolated from the styles and techniques imported into much of the rest of Greece during this period. Based on this limited evidence, the ceramic market of the city at this time thus seems attuned to both conservative as well as innovative streams of influence. MacKay's Athens, then, lies on the periphery of the medieval world and is largely out of touch with styles in wealthier regions more central in the medieval era, and Athens therefore developed local styles of pottery rather than relying on imports.

Looking closely at Herodotus, Hesiod, Pausanias, and Euripides' *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* (among other evidence), Jeremy McInerney investigates the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides. He interprets the development of the deity's rites as a function of Athenian interpretation of far-off lands and their awe of the exotic. The character of worship at the coastal shrine evolves to embrace a new-found awareness of these distant regions. Hence in the many guises of the goddess—recognized simultaneously as Artemis, Eastern Parthenos, Iphigeneia, and Hekate—he sees evidence of Athenian adoption and rereading of the foreign. This insight ultimately allows McInerney to unpack the polyvalent meaning behind Artemis' *epiklesis* Tauropolos at the site and to demonstrate that the civic yet nonetheless remote Attic shrine at Halai Araphenides served as a perfect locale for the reintegration of Athenian youths to public life. In McInerney's Athens, then, the evils of the foreign, exotic, and unknown were introduced to young men in controlled rituals under the guidance of Athenian elders.

Lee Ann Riccardi focuses on three female portrait heads from the Roman Period discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. Besides providing a detailed exposition of each head's modeling and composition with an eye toward chronology and identity, her analysis of the intended placement and use of these sculptures also examines the role of such objects within the broader socio-material life of Roman Athens. Judging these pieces principally as honorific sculpture likely meant to provoke *euergetism* in others, Riccardi provides comparanda from cities both east and west to offer a larger context for public displays of portraiture. Riccardi then turns to the afterlife of these sculptures following the advent of Christianity. After scrutiny of archaeological and literary sources, she suggests that in the Byzantine Period these heads may have been intentionally placed and oriented in such a way as to dispel the un-Christian forces present in their creation and their primary use. Riccardi's study demonstrates the changing situation of Athens as a place that, in Roman times, was closely connected to sculptural styles and values of the capital and then later, in the Christian era, a place where once venerated portraits could be defaced and degraded.

M. B. Richardson studies the courtroom speeches of Demosthenes to ascertain which inscriptions were familiar to his audience: according to the orator, they "used to see" the inscriptions in one collection of objects, and they "know" some text in another inscription. By careful consideration of these references, Richardson evaluates how the speaker's arguments employ these presumably familiar texts. She concludes by noting aspects of these texts that might have made them proximate in mind as well as proximate to the city center. As a supplement to her study, Richardson catalogues all references in Demosthenes' forensic corpus to publicly available documents. Richardson's fourth-century Athens is one that values records of the written word and has a working knowledge of some public texts.

Christina Salowey turns to the space of the Attic stage in an examination of Sophokles' *Philoctetes*, where her particular concern is the characterization of, and allusions to, Herakles. Via a review of preceding literary depictions of the tale surrounding Philoctetes' return to Troy, Salowey elucidates how Sophokles alters and adapts epic and mythic accounts of the quest for the bow to highlight the importance of the demigod Herakles to the audience's own city. This is a very Athenian Herakles; his depiction in this play accords well with the specific roles he adopts in cult at Athens. In particular, the staging of the myth becomes a reflection of the Athenian transition from youth to adulthood and alludes to Herakles' role as a local healing divinity. In Salowey's Athens, the role model and hero prescribed for young men is celebrated in the Athenian theater as well as being promoted in cult.

What, then, do we mean when we say this is a book about cities called Athens? Each author focuses on a different aspect of Attic or Athenian life and culture and every one of us has a different understanding of what Athens meant in various eras to various persons. This collection makes no pretense of presenting a comprehensive or cohesive portrait of the city, and indeed its very diversity highlights the fact that studying the past, while compelling, is also complicated and challenging. The papers in this collection present the analyses and conclusions drawn from the study of different kinds of evidence, whether historical, material, topographical, or literary, from or about Athens and Attica. We have each focused on details in order to illuminate larger issues. And indeed, we were all taught by John Camp that details matter. Every one of us has witnessed him demonstrate the architectural reconstruction of an entire temple simply by analyzing one or two small stone fragments. We all began our own investigations of the complex city called Athens with John Camp as our guide, and it is with heartfelt respect, gratitude, and appreciation that we present this volume to him.

NOTES

1. Paus. 8.44–8.54

2. τῆς ἀγορᾶς δὲ μάλιστα ἐοικυίας πλίνθῳ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα . . .

3. Vitruvius asserts that there are three types of mud bricks: *De arch.* 2.3.3. According to *LSJ*, πλίνθος can refer to fired or unfired bricks.

4. The need for clarification with regard to shape may spring, at least in part, from a divergent tradition regarding proper marketplace shape. Vitruvius generalizes about Greek *fora* as follows (*De arch.* 5.1.1): *Graeci in quadrato amplissimis et duplicibus porticibus fora constituent. crebrisque columnis et lapideis aut marmoreis epistyliis adornant et supra ambulationes in contignationibus faciunt* ("Greeks build marketplaces in a square plan with most spacious double colonnades. And they appoint them with close-set columns and either stone or marble epistyles, and on upper floors they make walkways."); Italian *fora* follow a different design (*De arch.* 5.1.1–5.1.2): *Italiae vero urbibus non eadem est ratione faciendum, ideo quod a maioribus consuetudo tradita est gladiatoria munera in foro dari* ("But in Italian cities building should not proceed with the same intent, in particular because we have received from our forebears the custom of holding gladiatorial games in the marketplace"). Vitruvius goes on to suggest that features of Italian design—including careful placement of certain shops and more spacious intercolumniations—aim at better viewing. He concludes that ideal *fora* should be oblong (he specifically suggests a ratio of 2:3) so as to suit audiences (*De arch.* 5.1.2), *ita enim erit oblonga eius formatio et ad spectaculorum rationem utilis dispositio* ("For thus will its shape be oblong and its design proper for the intent of spectacles").

5. That Pausanias has a general framework of *agora* design based on time and place seems clear from 6.24.2: ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ἰώνων καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων, τρόπῳ δὲ πεποίηται τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ στοαῖς τε ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστώσαις καὶ ἀγυιαῖς δι' αὐτῶν ("The *agora* in Elis has not been constructed in the manner of the Ionians and as many Greek cities as border on Ionia; it has been made in the ancient fashion, with stoas separated from one another and with roadways between them"). Perhaps his view of markets comes from exposure to the types in and near his own home region. Habicht has argued that Pausanias comes from Lydia, likely near Magnesia on the Sipylus: see Christian Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985); 13–17 (with notes).

6. Citing excavation reports, Bérard compares the *agora* of Mantinea to that of Tegea, noting, "L'agora de Mantinée avait aussi cette forme rectangulaire" (Victor Bérard, "Tégée et la tégéatide," *BCH* 17 [1893]: 3). Pausanias does not note the shape of the *agora* at Mantinea, as he does explicitly at Tegea, nor does he compare the two.

7. This does not mean to imply that all cultures view, recognize, or represent space and form in the same way. For a detailed, peer-critiqued study of such issues see Jan B. Deregowski, "Real Space and Represented Space: Cross-Cultural Perspectives," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 12 (1989): 51–119.

8. Aeschines' explicitly calls upon his listeners to use their mental understanding (διάνοια) to enter these imagined places (as well as Thebes on the eve of its destruction: in Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 158); see Paul Millett, "Encounters in the Agora,"

in *Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict and Community in Classical Athens*, ed. Paul Cartledge, Paul Millett, and Sitta von Redden (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 203–228, especially pages 214–215. Importantly, Aeschines' other uses of διάνοια (*In Tim.* 49; *In Ctes.* 8, 170) imply not just imagination (i.e., the mind's ability to recreate), but a particular point of view used to form an evaluative judgment.

9. The observation is thus framed by Phil Hubbard et al., *Thinking Geographically: Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography* (London: Continuum, 2002), and reiterated by Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine, *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London: Thousand Oaks, Sage, 2004), 2. For problems with such approaches, see Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992): 6–23.

10. For some thoughts on the broader theoretical basis underlying GIS and its attendant problems, see Andrew U. Frank, Irene Campari, and Ubaldo Formentini, eds., *Theories and Methods of Spatio-Temporal Reasoning in Geographic Space* (Heidelberg and Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1992).

11. Edward T. Hall's notion study of 'proxemics' remains fundamental: see Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966). Representative studies include Cavanaugh's study of settlement patterns in Attica and Laconia using the pattern properties of fractals: William Cavanaugh, "Settlement Structure in Laconia and Attica at the End of the Archaic Period: The Fractal Dimension," *AJA* 113 (2009): 405–421. For a recent application of spatio-cognitive thinking to Athens, see Nathan Arrington, "Topographic Semantics. The Location of the Athenian Public Cemetery and Its Significance for the Nascent Democracy," *Hesperia* 79 (2010): 499–539.

12. Recent regional studies of Greece which embrace geographic space, written records, material culture, and notional topography are ever more numerous: see, e.g., Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000); Jeremy McInerney, *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); Stephanie L. Larson, *Tales of Epic Ancestry: Boiotian Collective Identity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007); and Nino Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

13. Of course one thinks immediately of Strepsiades' misunderstanding of how a map works (apparently the first he has ever seen) shown to him by the Thinkery student in Aristophanes' *Clouds* ll. 202–218. For a more recent view of difficulties faced by first-time map users, see Reginald G. Golledge, "Do People Understand Spatial Concepts: The Case of First-Order Primitives," in *Theories and Methods of Spatio-Temporal Reasoning in Geographic Space*, ed. Andrew U. Frank, Irene Campari, and Ubaldo Formentini (Heidelberg and Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1992), 1–21.

14. For example, in Antiquity, the cardinal direction most commonly shown at the top of a map was East. The astronomer Ptolemy (90-168 CE) began putting North at the top but it was still many centuries before this became conventional. See above, note 7.

15. See Jessica Paga, "Deme Theaters in Attica and the Trittys System," *Hesperia* 79 (2010): 351–384, especially pages 366–371.

16. See, e.g., Hutton Webster, Early European History (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., Publishers, 1917), 290: "The business and social center of an ancient city was the agora or market place. The Athenian Agora lay in the hollow north of the Areopoagus and the Acropolis. The square was shaded by rows of plane trees and lined with covered colonnades." Of course in 1917, conclusive signs of a square or indeed any shape would have been few. For early plans and photos of the site see Craig A. Mauzy, and John McK. Camp II, *Agora Excavations, 1931—2006: A Pictorial History* (Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006). Those elements that were visible—some of the western buildings at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios, the line of the Stoa of Attalos, the east side of the Hephaisteion, and the line of the Giants—were no doubt suggestive, but the influence of "square" = "market" seems to drive the conclusion. Similarly, a description of the Athenian Agora as square in Thomas H. Dyer, *Ancient Athens: Its History, Topography, and Remains* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1873), which counters Leake's notion that it might be circular based on the appearance of the word κύκλος in certain passages of Xenophon and Euripides, finds the notion of a non-square shape simply impossible. While his conclusion regarding the use of κύκλος in the passage of Xenophon is no doubt correct, his reasoning regarding ancient conceptions of shape at once both begs the question and shows the influence of conventional (and anachronistic) spatial thinking (Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, 204): "In the passage from Xenophon, κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιελαύνειν means only to make the circuit of it, and indeed κύκλος here would refer rather to the horsemen than to the ground which they traversed. By a similar mode of reasoning to Leake's we might infer from the phrase 'forum circumire,' or 'to drive round Grosvenor Square,' that the Roman forum and the London square were round."

17. John McK. Camp II, "The Origins of the Classical Agora," in *Teseo e Romolo: Le Origini di Atene e Roma a Confronto*, ed. Emanuele Greco (Athens: Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene 2005), 204–205.

18. See, e.g., the provocatively titled book, edited by Roger Brock and Stephen Hodkinson, eds., *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). The volume focuses on the variety of political form and practice in Ancient Greece and springs from a conference whose aim was (here the editors cite their own call for papers), "to combat the 'danger of tunnel vision, a perspective which ignores the variety of ancient Greek state forms and the plurality of constitutional patterns'" (page 2).

1

Family Meals: Banquet Imagery on Classical Athenian Funerary Reliefs

Wendy E. Closterman

The iconography of banqueting attested on fourth-century BCE Athenian funerary markers is puzzling because it deviates from the most common funerary imagery of the era.[1] Most Classical Athenian tombstones employ a relatively small repertoire of standard images to commemorate the dead. Some tombstones portray a single individual seated or standing, but increasingly over the course of the fourth-century, the funerary stelai depict groups of family members. For the most part, the imagery alludes to specific activities only very obliquely; for example, a man might wear military gear, or hold a strigil or walking stick; a woman might hold out her mantle; or two figures might engage in a handshake or *dexiosis*. Further, the setting of these scenes is generally undefined, with only small hints at some sort of context, provided, for example, by the presence of a chair. In addition to the most prevalent image types, however, are a handful of scene types whose specificity does not appear to follow this mold, such as representations of soldiers engaged in military action, depictions of women in childbirth, or indications of occupations.[2] Among these less common iconographic types is the banquet scene. At least nineteen of these images are known.[3]

Currently, the most common funerary depictions are generally understood as associating the deceased with idealized familial relationships and civic roles rather than as portraying an event in the deceased's life, burial, or afterlife.[4] This paper argues that the banquet image on Classical Athenian stelai does not represent a significant departure from this meaning of standard funerary iconography. It is best understood as presenting

a variation of the family gathering so common on tombstones from the period.

OVERVIEW OF THE IMAGE

The most common form of the banquet scene appears on twelve tombstones (three of which are now lost), and is exemplified by stele NM 997 in the National Museum in Athens (Figure 1.1).[5] Here a bearded man reclines on a couch, supporting himself with his left arm and holding a cup in his right hand. A woman sits to his right on the end of the kline and rests her feet on a footstool. With her left hand she holds out her mantle, which is wrapped around her shoulders. In front of the couch, a table, whose three legs take the shape of animal legs, bears a variety of rounded and pyramidal-shaped foods. An inscription located above the scene gives two names: Pyrrhias and Thettale, wife of Pyrrhias (Πυρρίας | Θε[τ]ταλὴ | Πυρρίου γυνή).[6] Typical is the placement of the scene in

Figure 1.1. Funerary stele of Pyrrhias and Thettale. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 997.

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (W.E. Closterman). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Figure 1.2. Funerary stele of Sparton. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3518. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (W.E. Closterman). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

a recessed rectangular panel with indications of column capitals in the top left and right corners of the panel, the style of tombstone known as a sunk-relief stele.[7]

On several other tombstones of this type, the man and woman display similar gestures. The woman holds out her veil or cloak on NM 3518 (Figure 1.2), NM 1020 (figure 1.3), and NM 1025 (Figure 1.4), while the man holds a drinking cup on NM 3518 (Figure 1.2), NM 990, NM 1020 (Figure 1.3), NM 1025 (Figure 1.4), and Ny Carlesberg Glyptothek 240. Other

gestures, however, also appear. The man and woman might shake hands (e.g., NM 3518 [Figure 1.2]), both the man and the woman might raise one hand (e.g., NM 990), or the man might reach for the table of food (e.g. NM 1020 [Figure 1.3]). Nevertheless, such variations are minor compared with the shared features that define this group. Because this type of banquet

Figure 1.3. Funerary stele of a nurse. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1020. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (W.E. Closterman). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Figure 1.4. Funerary stele of Hermogenes, Rhode, and Epigenes. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1025.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (W.E. Closterman). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

scene comprises nearly two-thirds of the corpus, this study treats it as the most typical and makes it the main focus of analysis. The six tombstones representing other variants of dining imagery are discussed below.[8]

Since funerary stelai with banquet scenes appear to portray a specific event or action, they seem to present an aberration in Classical funerary imagery and consequently do not usually figure significantly into interpretations of Classical funerary iconography as a whole. This tendency to consider dining imagery as a phenomenon somewhat distinct from other contemporary funerary iconography is accentuated by fact that the scenes use an image type, traditionally called *Totenmahl* or "death-feast," that has a wide geographical range and a long life in both the Greek and Roman worlds.[9] In Greek regions, this image is particularly prevalent on

Classical Athenian votives and on Hellenistic tombstones, primarily from the Greek East and Thessaly.

It is generally agreed that the tombstones of Classical Athens borrowed the so-called *Totenmahl* imagery from the far more numerous Classical Athenian votive reliefs for hero cult.[10] Both share the same essential format, depicting a reclined male figure paired with a seated woman with a table of food in front of them. Nevertheless, notable distinctions between the tombstones and votives are also well-recognized.[11] First, the shapes of the two kinds of stelai differ. The votives are typically low and wide, while funerary stelai are tall and narrow. Furthermore, unlike the votives, the banquet scenes on Classical Athenian funerary stelai do not include any heroizing imagery or elements suggestive of worship.[12] Absent are the snakes, horse heads, or families of votaries that frequent the votives.[13] In addition, the word "hero," which is found occasionally in votive inscriptions, never appears in any of the funerary inscriptions from Classical Athens. Despite these distinctions, the tombstones' iconographic borrowing from the votives remains a central consideration in how scholars approach the dining imagery on Classical Athenian funerary stelai, though interpretations highlight different aspects of the votive context.

Most interpretations of the dining imagery on Classical Athenian tombstones fall into two broad categories. One associates the scene with the pleasures of the dead in the afterlife and with funerary ritual meals. Rhea Thönges-Stringaris presents an articulation of this view in her 1965 study. Since the banquet imagery on funerary stelai lacks all the heroizing elements of the votives, she argues that it was not employed to heroize the deceased.[14] Nevertheless, because the tombstone scenes borrow the central elements of the votive imagery, she concludes that the tombstones do not portray ordinary life, but rather evoke the religious context of the votives and so have cultic and afterlife allusions. Significant for Thönges-Stringaris' cultic reading of the scenes are parallels that she sees between the use of food in rituals for heroes and in tomb cult.[15] Therefore she believes that the ordinary dead in these stelai are portrayed with the dignity of heroes, that is, with a hero's banquet, though not actually heroized. She further explains that the reason why the banquet imagery came to be employed on funerary monuments in the fourth century is because, in her opinion, belief in dining in the afterlife was on the rise due to increased participation in mystery cults.[16] Citing a Greek belief that the deceased ate and drank after death, she concludes that the banquet scenes on tombstones depict the deceased taking part in a symposium in the afterlife.[17]

Her premise—that employing hero relief iconography on tombstones removed the setting from everyday life and located it in the afterlife—is open to question. Specific references to the afterlife are not overt in the banquet scenes, with one possible exception of a unique piece found in

the Kerameikos, discussed below. Indeed, afterlife allusions are quite rare in Classical Athenian funerary imagery as a whole.[18] Therefore, iconographically there is no compelling reason to see the banquet as an event in the afterlife, at least as its primary meaning in the Athenian context.[19] Instead, other aspects of the votive reliefs beside their cultic function may have influenced the meaning of the scenes on the tombstones.

Jean-Marie Dentzer, in his lengthy 1982 study of banquet imagery in the Greek world, has made an extended argument against such an eschatological and cultic reading of banquet depictions on tombstones.[20] Considering a wide array of types and contexts for banquet scenes, he instead makes the case for the second major interpretive strand, namely that the banquet image conveys concepts of prestige and the good life. For Dentzer, it does so by evoking the aristocratic lifestyle exemplified by dining in the royal courts of the Near East and in the symposia of Archaic Greece. Noting the introduction of gestures common on other tombstones, such as the woman lifting her mantle and the handshake, Dentzer is conscious that, when used on Classical Athenian tombstones, the banquet scene's meaning must have a relationship with contemporary funerary iconography. He therefore proposes that the imagery served as a new means of portraying a couple on tombstones.[21] Other than arguing for a lack of heroization on the tombstones, Dentzer does not strongly differentiate the meaning of the banquet on tombstones from its use elsewhere, concluding that it shows the couple in a way that highlights the connotations of prestige that he believes the banquet image conveys.[22]

BANQUETING AND THE SYMPOSIUM

This paper builds on Dentzer's compelling assertion that the depiction of a couple is the essence of the banquet scene on tombstones.[23] Before doing so, however, it examines the recurring association of this banquet imagery with the Greek symposium. A connection with the symposium appears in both of the interpretations considered above. Thönges-Stringaris sees the funerary scenes as showing a symposium in the afterlife; Dentzer draws on the meaning of the Archaic period symposium for his reading of the imagery. Further, the term 'symposium' frequently occurs in discussions of both the funerary and votive banquet reliefs, often used simply as a descriptor of the scene, but sometimes given more attention.[24] Because of the prevalence of implicit or explicit links between banquet imagery and the symposium in scholarship, the nature of a possible relationship between the two deserves closer scrutiny.

The Greek symposium, a social institution that came into its own among elites during the Archaic period, was the second stage of a meal that a

man hosted for a group of his associates. After eating, the main tables of food were cleared away and the banqueters took part in the symposium proper, or the drinking phase of the evening. Oswyn Murray, who has called attention to the importance of this custom in Greek society, has stressed that the symposium was a communal occasion that brought male peers together, affirming their shared identity and equality.[25] Participation was thus a symbol of the pleasures and privileges of the elite lifestyle,[26] and it is variations on this idea that scholars most often associate with the banquet iconography under consideration here. The tombstone imagery, however, differs from this characterization of the symposium in three notable respects, and these distinctions raise doubts about investing the tombstone images too heavily with sympotic concepts.

One difference is the consistent portrayal of food on the funerary stelai. Although this characteristic is at variance with the emphasis on drinking in the institution of the symposium, the combination of food and drink in the imagery does not itself rule out a sympotic allusion. Light fare was served during the symposium phase of the meal,[27] and vase iconography, especially of the Archaic period, at times combined dining with sympotic drinking.[28] In the late sixth century, the earlier conflation of eating and drinking in vase painting gave way to the more delineated focus on drinking found in Classical period symposium scenes, though even here some food occasionally still appeared.[29] The banquet scenes on Classical tombstones and votives do not follow the vase-painting models of the Classical period; instead they resemble more closely the Archaic period images. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel has argued that the blend of food and drink in the Archaic vase images is a pastiche of different elements of a banquet,[30] making it difficult to distinguish whether such a scene portrays a private symposium that is primarily focused on the sharing of drink, or a public ritual like sacrifice, which is more concerned with the distribution and consumption of food.[31] Indeed, the inclination to understand the banquet image under consideration here as sympotic may in part emerge from a tendency to attribute a single interpretation to all reclined eating and drinking.[32] At the very least, the presence of food allows for a consideration of other types of dining as well.

Nevertheless, for Schmitt-Pantel the lack of a clear reference to a particular type of banquet does not alter her view that banquet scenes on vases depict a shared identity among a group of peers.[33] A group of peers however, is precisely what does not appear on the majority of banquet scenes on Classical tombstones. Only two stelai represent a variant that shows multiple reclined figures. NM 3785 depicts two men reclined on a single kline.[34] A krater, as well as a wine-pourer, also appears to the left, making an iconographic reference to the symposium likely on this particular piece. The second example appears on a large rectangular relief found in

the Kerameikos associated with the peribolos tomb of Lysimachides, to which it was perhaps a later addition.[35] In the middle of this unique scene are two men, each reclining on his own couch, while two seated women flank the men on each side. A table of food is visible in front of them. In the foreground in front of the banqueters a man appears in a boat. He is most often interpreted as an image of Charon the ferryman. If correct, this relief presents an exceptional appearance of Charon and a rare allusion to the afterlife on Classical Athenian tombstones. This identification is, however, by no means certain.[36] Although these two Classical funerary markers depict multiple reclined male figures, most of the funerary banquet iconography does not. Since commensality among peers is a key element of the symposium, its absence from most common banquet scenes found on tombstones is notable.

A final distinction between sympotic concepts and our main banquet image lies in the fact that the symposium was a male institution. Symposium imagery focuses on men and typically includes women only in the roles of entertainers and sexual companions for the banqueters. These women may recline on couches with the men or stand playing the flute, and they are often naked or semi-dressed. Yet none of the tombstones explicitly depict the woman in this way. In the standard type of dining scene, the woman's seated posture, modest clothing, and recurrent gesture of *anakalypsis* alluding to unveiling at marriage all point to a reputable status.[37]

One variant of the dining scene, found on an unusual tombstone in the shape of a chous (Louvre Ma 3229), does portray a standing rather than seated female figure.[38] She appears to be young, and approaches the banqueter on the left, holding a pitcher and basket or plate. Four other tombstones exclude women altogether. One is NM 3785, the stele with two men reclined on one couch discussed above. Another example appears on a fragment in the National Museum in Athens.[39] In what appears to be a re-carving of the tombstone, an image of a solitary bearded man reclining on a kline is superimposed over the preserved remains of the left handle of a loutrophoros.[40] The banqueter's name, Gelon, appears above his head. The image is broken at the legs of the kline, so it is not clear if a table laden with food was also present; the top portion of pyramidal-shaped food may be preserved. On the right side of the piece stands a second man, who has wrapped himself in his mantle and holds his right hand to his head, bowed in grief. This piece is unique in including a mourning man. Two other pieces, both in the Piraeus Museum, also show a solitary reclined man.[41] The image on the Louvre tombstone should perhaps be categorized as a solitary banqueter as well, since a standing woman appears to be a subsidiary figure, similar to Piraeus 16, which depicts a male wine-pourer. In contrast to these five pieces, the banquet imagery on the

twelve tombstones with the standard version of the theme all focus on a male/female couple.

In summary, although associations with the symposium may be present on a few variants, the nature of the standard type of banquet imagery on tombstones raises doubts about interpreting all banquet imagery on tombstones as having sympotic implications. The presence of a respectable woman and the absence of a peer group are at variance with elements of the symposium that are fundamental to its interpretation as an expression of the values of an elite lifestyle, while the presence of food expands the possibilities of the type of dining portrayed.

Oswyn Murray and Andreas Scholl have both questioned the view that the banquet scenes on tombstones hark back to an older aristocratic lifestyle, though for different reasons. Murray argues the following:

> [t]he social range of those commemorated and the low level of artistic skill do not encourage a belief that the *symposion* is here seen as a representation of social rank: it suggests rather that this is merely one of a stock set of funerary motifs chosen with little thought of its symbolism by the commemorator. This impression is reinforced by the facts that these *stelai* are not common, contain no overtly funerary symbolism, and are artistically derivative on a far larger group of reliefs.[42]

Thus Murray concludes that the funerary material does not directly evoke the elite connotations he sees in the votive banquet imagery.

While Murray seems to dismiss the possibility that the banquet iconography had a particular meaning in the funerary context, Scholl offers a new interpretation. Arguing that the funerary banquet scenes reflect contemporary citizen life rather than past aristocratic lifestyle,[43] Scholl associates the scene with the feasting that was part of the clubs and associations of Classical Athens. Thus Scholl also moves away from the values implied by an Archaic period symposium. Because, however, respectable women were not present at public meals or symposia in Classical Athens, Scholl argues that the scenes do not present an image of reality. Instead, he sees the combination of a male figure modeled on a hero's image with that of a respectable married woman as expressing the man's heroized self-conception.[44]

Although Scholl's evaluation of the tombstones calls attention to discrepancies between the banquet image and symposia, it does not fully explore the implications of the woman in the scene. Scholl's interpretation concentrates primarily on the meaning of the scene for a man, sharing in an assumption common in discussions of this material that the reclined male figure is the principal deceased.[45] Not only does the iconography raise questions about the conclusion that the male banqueter is the focus of the scene, but the preserved inscriptions on the tombstones also do not

bear it out. As Johanna Fabricius has pointed out, they often name women as well as men.[46]

THE ROLE OF WOMEN ON CLASSICAL ATHENIAN TOMBSTONES WITH BANQUET IMAGERY

Of the ten stelai that preserve inscriptions, six are of the standard type that portrays a reclined man and a seated woman.[47] Only one of the six inscribed tombstones showing a couple records no female names. On NM 3518 (figure 1.2), the name Sparton appears over the head of the male figure (Σπάρτων | ἰσοτελής).[48] On the other hand, two of these six stelai name both men and women. NM 997 (figure 1.1) specifically identifies the woman, Thettale, as the wife of the man, Pyrrhias, who is also named separately (Πυρρίας | Θε[τ]ταλὴ | Πυρρίου γυνή).[49] The inscription on NM 1025 (figure 1.4) names Rhode, the daughter of Hermogenes, as well as Hermogenes and his son Epigenes (Above the rosettes: Ἑρμογένες | [[Ῥόδη]] | [Ἑ]ρμογένους. Below the relief: Ἐπιγένης Ἑρμογένους | Γηρη|ναῖ[ος]).[50] Finally, three tombstones preserve inscriptions that commemorate only women. Below the image, NM 990 names Charito, the daughter of Diognetos of Thorai and wife of Phaidrios (Χαριτὼ Διογνήτου | Θοραιέως θυγάτηρ | [γυ]νὴ δὲ Φαιδρίου).[51] The stele is broken above, so it is impossible to know if the stone once held another inscription there. A stele from Maroussi, now lost, bore the name Pythodike (Π[υ]θοδίκη).[52] NM 1020 (Figure 1.3) is inscribed Τίτθη | χρηστή ("useful nurse").[53]

The commemoration of women in these inscriptions indicates that the woman in the image could be understood as a central figure, perhaps sometimes even *the* central figure, rather than just an accessory to the male figure. Any interpretation of the banquet imagery on tombstones, then, must shift from focusing primarily on the reclined man and concepts associated with banqueting men to include the woman and the nature of the male/female pair.[54] As noted above, the man and woman on these tombstones do not fit the model of symposiast and prostitute or entertainer. Who is the woman, then, and what is her connection with the male figure? A consideration of both iconography and inscriptions reveals some variety in the women's identity, but overall suggests a familial relationship between the woman and man.

The closest iconographic counterpart to the male/female pair appears on Classical period votives for heroes, on which the tombstones are dependent. As in the tombstones, here, too, the female figure does not function just as an attribute of the banqueting hero but can be a recipient of the dedication. Some inscriptions simply identify her as a heroine, while

others name her.[55] Though different possibilities are attested for the nature of their relationship, the pair always appears to represent family members, most often a heroic couple. Jennifer Larson has argued that hero cult in general placed an emphasis on the heroic family, a practice to which the banquet iconography contributed by including the heroine.[56]

A second parallel in Athenian art also involves the portrayal of consorts. On a small number of vases, the earliest dated to about 520, the god Dionysos appears as a reclined banqueter paired with a seated woman, similar to the scene under consideration here.[57] Thomas Carpenter has argued that these representations are part of a larger repertoire of images showing Dionysos and Ariadne together in a marriage and wedding context.[58] Both on votives and on vases, then, the depiction of a reclined man and seated woman with a table of food is used primarily to represent spouses, though other kin relationships are also attested on the votives.[59]

The inscriptional evidence from the tombstones with a dining couple, though slim, accords with this theme of family. On NM 990, Charito is not only named as the daughter of Diognetos of Thorai, but also as wife of Phaidrios, implying that the man and woman are a married couple, even though the male figure is not directly identified. NM 997 (Figure 1.1) is more explicit, identifying the woman, Thettale, as the wife of the man, Pyrrhias, who is also named separately. As with the heroic votive reliefs, however, we should not assume that the pair always portrayed a married couple. The common use of stock scenes with small variations, like our banquet scenes, suggests that the tombstone purchasers might select a scene from a set of standard image types and add inscriptions to suit their own situation, desires, and perceptions of the image.[60] Although the inscription above the image on NM 1025 (Figure 1.4) is scratched out, it can still be read. It names Rhode, the daughter of Hermogenes, as well as Hermogenes himself. Below the image appears the name of Epigenes, Hermogenes' son. Although the relationship between image and inscription on Classical funerary markers is not always straightforward,[61] especially when more than one person is named, the inscription above the image suggests that the man and woman here are father and daughter rather than husband and wife.

The inscription on NM 1020 (Figure 1.3) presents more of a challenge. It labels the female figure as a τίτθη χρηστή or "useful nurse," indicating that the same scene that sometimes shows a husband and wife or father and daughter here perhaps indicates a different sort of relationship.[62] The use of the adjective *chrēstos* is generally taken to indicate a slave.[63] The specific relationship between the slave nurse and the unidentified reclined male on NM 1020 (Figure 1.3) remains unexpressed, but the characterization of the woman as a nurse, rather than the use of her name, may imply she is shown with a member of the family who owned her,

perhaps one of her charges.[64] Since slaves can be included in the Greek concept of the *oikos*, this tombstone, then, may also show a familial relationship broadly defined.[65]

Although the available evidence does not allow the relationship between the figures on NM 1020 to be determined with certainty, this inscription does likely identify the woman's status as a slave. Only two other tombstones provide evidence for the civic status of the women they commemorate. On NM 1025 (Figure 1.4), the ethnic Gerenaios has been restored, indicating that the stele probably commemorated metics.[66] Finally, on NM 990, Charito is identified as the daughter of Diognetos of Thoraios and the wife of Phaidrios; the use of her father's demotic indicates her Athenian citizenship.[67] Noting the rarity of demotics in the inscriptions on the banquet stelai, both Scholl and Fabricius suggest that the banquet iconography was adopted primarily by metics, who generally employed a greater variety of imagery in their tombstones than did citizens.[68] Indeed, slaves and metics often used the sunk-relief stele type, on which the banquet scenes most often appear.[69] While many tombstone inscriptions without a demotic probably did commemorate metics, the lack of a demotic does not always indicate that the tombstone was for a non-citizen.[70] Michael J. Osborne and Sean G. Byrne categorize Thettale and Pyrrhias on NM 997 (Figure 1.1) as likely Athenian citizens.[71] In addition, it is not uncommon for some tombstones in a family tomb, especially on less central or more modest markers, to name members of a citizen family without using a demotic, since the inscriptions on other markers in the tomb bear an indication of the citizen status of the family.[72] Unfortunately, by and large, the details of the original sepulchral contexts of tombstones with banquet scenes are unknown.[73] While dining scenes on their tombstones may have most often been used by metics and slaves, the inscription on NM 990 makes clear this dining imagery was not their exclusive preserve, but could also be employed on tombstones for citizens.

The banquet may be surprising funerary imagery for Athenian citizens, given the strong prohibition against men and women dining together. There are, however, some indications that men and women did dine together at family-only meals.[74] The separation of the sexes during dining seems to have been of greatest concern at public meals or occasions when non-family members might be present. If the dining scene on tombstones was understood as portraying a family meal, then, while it may have been unusual for citizens to employ such imagery, it was perhaps not as much of a violation of Athenian norms as it might at first appear.

The fact that Classical votive banquet scenes were an established depiction of a family gathering, albeit a family of heroes, may well be what prompted the adoption of the imagery on tombstones. Further, given the emphasis on the pairing of consorts in both the dining scenes on votives

and in the vase iconography of Dionysos and Ariadne, images of a reclined man and seated woman on Athenian tombstones may have often evoked the concept of marriage.[75] While depictions of married couples appear frequently on Classical Athenian tombstones—on almost one-fifth of them according to Johannes Bergemann's analysis of inscriptions[76]—no standard iconographic convention for portraying a married couple existed in Classical Athenian funerary imagery. Thus, one appeal of the banquet scenes might have been their ability to communicate marriage associations in particular, as well as familial concepts in general, with the banquet itself reinforcing the relationship between the depicted figures. As John M. Wilkins has explained, "[e]ating was not mere refueling, it was an affirmation of family, kinship or civic and religious bonds."[77] Meals were social occasions featuring commensality, and in these banquet scenes, the commensality is between family members.

Rather than reading the dining imagery on Classical Athenian tombstones as primarily evoking ritual, afterlife, or sympotic associations, this paper argues that the tombstones drew on the concepts of family and marriage expressed in votive banquet scenes to add one more variant to the family gathering so frequently found in fourth century funerary iconography. Understanding the banquet image on Classical Athenian tombstones as essentially portraying a family scene resonates both with the origin of the imagery on votive reliefs as well as with its use in a Classical funerary context.

NOTES

1. It is with deep gratitude that I offer this study in honor of John Camp. John's scholarship and mentoring has instilled in me, as in so many others, an ongoing love for the study of ancient Athens and Attica. I owe particular thanks to him for his inspiring teaching and for his active encouragement of my interest in Attic tombstones when I was a student at the American School of Classical Studies. Many thanks to the Lee Ann Riccardi, Kevin Daly, and the anonymous reviewers, whose valuable feedback helped me clarify my argument. I am also grateful to the National Museum in Athens for permission to study and publish images of its tombstones with banquet scenes, and to John Camp for information about Agora S 3562. Finally, I would like to thank the Carpenter Fund and the Research Program at Bryn Athyn College for their generous support.

2. On these iconographic categories, see, for example, Knud Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period: An Essay in Interpretation* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1951), 48–52; Angeliki Kosmopoulou, "'Working Women': Female Professionals on Classical Attic Gravestones," *BSA* 96 (2001): 281-319; Andrew F. Stewart and Celina Gray, "Confronting the Other: Childbirth, Aging, and Death on an Attic Tombstone at Harvard," in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Con-*

struction of the Other in Greek Art, ed. Beth Cohen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 248-274; Reinhard Stupperich, "The Iconography of Athenian State Burials in the Classical Period," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, ed. William D. E. Coulson et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), 93-103. All dates are BCE unless otherwise noted.

3. Jean-Marie Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1982), 582, 590, 591–593, 595, 616, and 622: nos. R 112, 199, 207–214a, 215–219, 238, 416, and 478) lists eighteen. In 2011, another Athenian tombstone with a banquet scene was discovered in the Athenian Agora (*Agora* 35, cat. 133, plate 37). Johanna Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs: Grabrepräsentation und Wertvorstellungen in ostgriechischen Städten* (Munich: F. Pfeil, 1999), 28, n. 46, adds to Dentzer's list an example known from the Swiss art market. She also includes a banquet scene on an Atticizing Boeotian tombstone (Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché*, 580, no. R 98a). Although Robert S. J. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 158 refers to a group of thirty-five Attic banquet reliefs, this number presumably includes votive as well as funerary material since it is based on the catalog in Rhea N. Thönges-Stringaris, "Das griechische Totenmahl," *AM* 80 (1965): 1-99. See below for a discussion of the distinction between funerary and votive banquet reliefs.

4. For a well-developed articulation of this view, see Johannes Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos: Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten* (Munich: Biering & Brinkmann, 1997). Karen Stears, "Dead Women's Society: Constructing Female Gender in Classical Athenian Funerary Sculpture," in *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the 'Great Divide,'* ed. Nigel Spencer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 109-131; Ruth E. Leader, "In Death Not Divided: Gender, Family, and State on Classical Athenian Grave Stelae," *AJA* 101 (1997): 683-699; and Robin Osborne, "Law, the Democratic Citizen and the Representation of Women in Classical Athens," *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 3-33, all focus specifically on idealized gender roles, especially for women. Friis Johansen, *Attic Grave-Reliefs*, 53–64, offers an early argument against interpreting the iconography as depicting a reunion in a specific setting. For an argument against interpreting Classical funerary iconography as primarily an expression of social ideology, see Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Attische Grabreliefs* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1999).

5. 1) *NM 997*: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 72, cat. 24; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. R 211; Christoph W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, vol. 2, *2.000-2.499, 2.500-2.999* (Kilchberg, Switzerland: Akanthus, 1993), 449, no. 2.385; Andreas Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. v.Chr.: Untersuchungen zu den kleinformatigen Grabreliefs im spätklassischen Athen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996), 262, cat. 136.

2) *NM 3518*: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 72, cat. 23; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 616, cat. R 416; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 281, cat. 221.

3) *NM 1020*: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 72, cat. 25; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. R 212; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 264-265, cat. 148.

4) *NM 1025*: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 72, cat. 22; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. R 213; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 265, cat. 151.

5) *NM 990*: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 74, cat. 38; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. R 210; Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, vol. 2, *2.000-2.499, 2.500-2.999*, 693–694, no. 2.790; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 260, cat. 129.

6) *Piraeus 232*: Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 593, cat. R 218; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 295, cat. 276.

7) *Piraeus 306*: Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 593, cat. R 219.

8) *Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 240*: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 72–73, cat. 26; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 622, cat. R 478; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 335, cat. 421.

9) *Acropolis Museum 7210*: Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 582, cat. R 112; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 229, cat. 13.

10–12) *Three lost stelai*: a) Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. 214a; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 312, cat. 336; b) Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 593, cat. R 216; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 357, cat. 504; and c) Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. R 208.

6. *IG* 2^2.12562.

7. On this type of funerary marker, see Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Introductory Volume, 41–43; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen*.

8. Because Agora S 3562 (*Agora* 35, cat. 133, plate 37) preserves only the bottom right corner of the sculpted panel, it is impossible to know if it, too, included a seated woman with the reclined man. Grossman notes that the two figures standing to the right of the kline, one male and one female, are unattested elsewhere.

9. On the so-called *Totenmahl* images, see Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl;" Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché*; Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*; and Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Most scholars presume that this iconography originally developed in the Ancient Near East, citing as a key example the well-known seventh-century relief of Assyrian king Assurbanipal dining with his queen in a garden while the severed head of his enemy hangs in a nearby tree (British Museum WA 124920) (Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 14–15).

10. On votive reliefs for heroes, see Jennifer Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 43–57; Folkert T. van Straten, *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 92–100.

11. Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché*, 347–363.

12. The Hellenistic period funerary reliefs from the Greek East, in contrast, do employ heroizing imagery. See Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*, 39–44, for a discussion of how the iconography of the Hellenistic funerary reliefs gradually changed over time to diverge from the Classical votive imagery.

13. Further, only four of the funerary markers (NM 990, NM 3785, Piraeus 16, and a lost stele commemorating Pythodike) include a subsidiary figure of a wine-pourer.

14. Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 50.

15. For the view that *theoxenia* for heroes and gods was different from the food for the dead, see Gunnel Ekroth, "The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in

the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods" (PhD dissertation, Stockholm University, 1999), 237-240.

16. Maria Stamatopoulou, "'*Totenhmahl*' Reliefs of the 4th-2nd Centuries BC and the Archaeology of Feasting in a Funerary Context," in *Cultural Messages in the Graeco-Roman World. Acta of the BABESCH 80th Anniversary Workshop Radboud University Nijmegen, September 8th 2006*, ed. Olivier Hekster and Stephan T.A.M. Mols (Leuven and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), 17, argues for another fourth century change related to dining and burial: the increasing association of klinai with some Greek burials in Athens and elsewhere.

17. Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 64–67. More recently, Garland, "Greek Way of Death," 70–71, has leaned toward interpreting the banquet images as representing the activities of the deceased in Hades. John Boardman, "*Symposion* Furniture," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the* Symposion, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 128, too, locates the scene after death, while also seeing heroic implications: "You feast on your *kline*, you die on your *kline*, and you are buried on a *kline*, your heroic status is indicated by being depicted in a lonely *symposion* in which you receive offerings while, as it were, feasting on your deathbed." Friis Johansen, *Attic Grave-Reliefs*, 149–165, interprets the banquet scenes differently from Thönges-Stringaris' in several respects, but shares the emphasis on a cultic connection with hero cult. He argues that the banquet scenes, as well as Classical Attic tombstone imagery in general, were based in a religious and heroizing conception of the dead, which, he believed, developed from an earlier worship of the dead as heroes to a conceptualization of the dead that did not differentiate the dead from the living as clearly.

18. One well-known image related to the afterlife appears on a tombstone in the shape of a lekythos in the National Museum in Athens (NM 4485), which shows Hermes Psychopompos leading the deceased, Myrrhine.

19. Stamatopoulou, "'*Totenhmahl*' Reliefs," 12, makes the important point that this type of scene likely contained "a multitude of messages depending on context or date."

20. Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 530–538.

21. Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 540.

22. He asserts, in fact, that neither the inscriptions nor the iconography aid in the interpretation of the banquet scene on the tombstones (Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 529–530). Therefore he relies on the general meaning he sees in banquet images.

23. Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*, 27-30; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen*; and Stamatopoulou, "'*Totenhmahl*' Reliefs" also follow Dentzer's emphasis on the couple.

24. See, for example, Boardman, "*Symposion* Furniture," 128; Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 104–105; Garland, "Greek Way of Death," 70 (here "drinking party"); Kosmopoulou, "Working Women," 288; Oswyn Murray, "Death and the Symposion," *Annuali. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 10 (1988): 241–247. Andreas Scholl, "Das 'Charonrelief' im Kerameikos," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 108 (1993): 361–362; and Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 157–158. On the concerns Murray and Scholl raise about associating the symposium with the funerary banquet scenes, see below.

25. On the male focus, the emphasis on drinking rather than eating, and the communal nature, see Oswyn Murray, "Sympotic History," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the* Symposion, ed. Oswyn Murray, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 6. On the place of the symposium in Archaic society, see Oswyn Murray, *Early Greece*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 207–212.

26. Murray, *Early Greece*, 210-211; Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 11, notes that it retained the connotation of luxury even after the Archaic period when non-aristocrats also took part in symposia.

27. John M. Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006), 77–78. In addition, both ancient and modern authors at times apply the term symposium to the full banquet (Wilkins and Hill, *Food*, 77; Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?" in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the* Symposion, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 15.

28. The symposium is first attested in Greek pottery on a Corinthian column krater of the late seventh century (Paris, Louvre E 634: Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 15).

29. Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 19.

30. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet: Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1992), 30–31.

31. Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*," 16–20. Wilkins, too, cautions against drawing a sharp line between private and public dining, as well as against seeing the symposium solely as the practice of the upper class, at least in the Classical period (Wilkins and Hill, *Food*, 177–178).

32. Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*," 16; and Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 2–4, question such a monolithic identification of reclined banqueting.

33. For her, the inclusion of food as well as drink simply highlights additional aspects of this phenomenon (Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*," 18–19). She sees all the different forms of banqueting as expressing common values, which she characterizes as aristocratic and civic in the Archaic period (pages 23–24).

34. NM 3785: Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 595, cat. 238; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 283, cat. 228.

35. Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 93, cat. 163; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 590, R 199. On the tomb, see Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos*, 184–185, cat. A4; Jan Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 176, cat. A4; Daniela Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica: lo specchio di una 'borghesia'* (Paestum: Pandemos, 2011), 328-330 W.Ker.vt.17.

36. Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 539, believes that the figure in the boat is most likely a reference to the occupation of the deceased, rather than Charon. Scholl, "'Charonrelief,'" argues that sailor is a Scythian metic and that the stele depicts a family of merchants.

37. Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 22, argues that in the dining imagery on tombstones, the woman's "respectable status is intended to be manifest." On the respectable status of the women, see also Scholl, "'Charonrelief,'" 361–362; and Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 157–158.

38. Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 90–91, cat. 151; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 350 and 591–592, cat. R 207. Although the identification of this piece as funerary is not certain, Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 354, believes that this function is the most likely.

39. NM 971: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 70, cat. 2; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 592, cat. R 209; Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, vol. 2, *2.000-2.499, 2.500-2.999*, 207, no. 2.278; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 259, cat. 123.

40. On the solitary banqueter, see Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*, 16.

41. Piraeus 16: Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 593, cat. R 215; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 292, cat. 267. Piraeus 261: Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 70, cat. 1; Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 593, cat. R 217; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 297, cat. 282. Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 153, argues that this variation only makes a late appearance, dating Piraeus 16 and Piraeus 261 to about 317. Unlike Thönges-Stringaris, who dates NM 971 to around 380, Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 151, dates the banqueting figure to between 330 and 320, when he believes the tombstone was recarved. Interestingly, he also places NM 3785 (*Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 283, cat. 228), one of the tombstones showing two reclined men, near the end of the series, which suggests that the banquet scenes that differ from the standard type were late developments.

42. Murray, "Death and the Symposion," 245. Murray makes this assertion as part of a consideration of the opposition he finds between the symposium and death in Greek thought. Although he departs from Dentzer, in his consideration of the funerary markers, he explicitly begins with Dentzer's overall approach, arguing that the votive banquet reliefs do not depict a human afterlife or funerary ritual. Instead he sees them as depicting the sympotic existence that immortal heroes enjoyed (Murray, "Death and the Symposion," 247).

43. Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 156–157. For this view Scholl, follows the interpretation of Fehr (Burkhard Fehr, review of *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.*, by Jean-Marie Dentzer, *Gnomon* 56 [1984]: 340).

44. Scholl, "'Charonrelief,'" 361–362; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 157–158.

45. Thönges-Stringaris, "Totenmahl," 65, for example, also speaks of the woman as an attribute of the banqueter, part of his milieu.

46. Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*, 29.

47. The four other inscribed tombstones, NM 971, NM 3785, Piraeus 16, and Piraeus 261, only depict men. Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 593, cat. R 219, records part of an inscription (ΑΝΑΙΑ) on an eleventh stelai, Piraeus 306, but not enough is preserved for reconstruction.

48. *IG* 2^2.7877.

49. *IG* 2^2.12562.

50. *IG* 2^2.11335.

51. *IG* 2^2.6215.

52. *IG* 2^2.12553.

53. *IG* 2^2.12815.

54. With due respect to Murray, "Death and the Symposion," 245: "In terms of a meaningful funerary symbolism this is surely remarkable: a scene depicting

an essentially male activity, from which respectable women were excluded, is capable of being used for a female burial."

55. Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults*, 45–47.

56. Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults*, 4–8, 46-50. Murray, "Death and the Symposion," 246–247, has also noted the familial context of the votive depictions of heroes.

57. Thomas H. Carpenter, "A *Symposion* of Gods?," in *In Vino Veritas*, ed. Oswyn Murray and Manula Tecuşan, (London: British School at Rome, 1995), 145-163, discusses these scenes as part of his consideration of a unique cup by the Codrus painter portraying several divine couples banqueting together. For an interpretation of this cup in its Etruscan context of use, see Amalia Avramidou, "Attic Vases in Etruria: Another View on the Divine Banquet Cup by the Codrus Painter," *AJA* 110 (2006): 565-579.

58. Carpenter, "*Symposion* of Gods?" 158–161.

59. For example, Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults*, 47-48, cites a heroic votive relief with a banquet scene that commemorates a mother and son.

60. On ready-made tombstones and stock scenes, see Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones,* Introductory Volume, 66–72.

61. Friis Johansen, *Attic Grave-Reliefs*, 30–36. Further difficulty results from the practices of adding new inscriptions to tombstones over time and of recording the names of individuals while they are still alive (Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Introductory Volume, 119–121; Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos*, 25–28).

62. Murray, "Death and the Symposion," 244–245. It is not too surprising that this image might be employed to portray a nurse, since nurses do not appear explicitly in their professional capacity on funerary stelai. Instead, they are indistinguishable from images of citizens (Kosmopoulou, "Working Women," 287).

63. Thomas Heine Nielsen et al., "Athenian Grave Monuments and Social Class," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 30 (1989): 419; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen,* 177. On a quite different use of the term *chrestos* for characterizing a set of political figures in Classical Athens, see David Rosenbloom, "*Ponêroi* vs. *Chrêstoi*: The Ostracism of Hyperbolos and the Struggle for Hegemony in Athens after the Death of Perikles, Part 1." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134.1 (2004): 55–105.

64. Murray, "Death and the Symposion," 245, notes that "the male figure, if it represents anyone, must represent the commemorator."

65. On the relationship of slaves, including nurses, to the household, see Cheryl Anne Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 190–194.

66. David Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1977), 33–34, notes that tombstone inscriptions never explicitly identify the deceased as a metic, instead naming the home city. Presumably the vast majority of these tombstones commemorated metics, rather than foreigners who died in Athens. Two other tombstones with banquet scenes indicate that they commemorated metics. The inscription on Piraeus 16, which depicts a reclined man without a women, identifies the deceased as a Cypriot (*IG* 2^2.9120). NM 3518 describes Sparton as ἰσοτελής (*IG* 2^2.7877) a term used for a special sta-

tus of metic that involved the right to pay citizenship rather than metic taxes. This designation appears on a number of Attic tombstones (Whitehead, *Ideology*, 33–34; Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 81, 119, and 314). For an overview of the meaning of *isoteles*, see Whitehead, *Ideology*, 11–13.

67. Piraeus 261, which depicts just a reclined man, also includes a demotic, indicating that the deceased was a citizen (*IG* 2^2.6543).

68. Scholl, "'Charonrelief,'" 369–370, and Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*, 29–30.

69. Scholl, "'Charonrelief,'" 370.

70. See Peter M. Fraser, "Citizens, Demesmen and Metics in Athens and Elsewhere," in *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*, ed. Mogen H. Hansen (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1995), 66–68, for a discussion of the implications of the lack of demotics on tombstones from Attica.

71. *LGPN*, 2:224, 389.

72. For example, see the lost kioniskos (*IG* 2^2.11817) in the tomb of Dexileos of Thorikos (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 184, cat. A1; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 171, cat. A1; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 321–324, W.Ker.vt.14), the cippi (*IG* 2^2.11720 and *IG* 2^2.12002) attributed to the tomb of Lysimachides of Acharnai (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos*, 184–185, cat. A4; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 176, cat. A4; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 328–330, K.Ker.vt.17), the stele of Hegeso (*IG* 1^2.1079) in the tomb of Koroibos of Melite (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 187, cat. A20; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 184, cat. A20; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 303–305, W.Ker. vt.3), all in the Kerameikos. Examples from Rhamnous include a pedimental stele (*SEG* 28.339) from the tomb of Menestides of Rhamnous (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 197, cat. M3; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 201, cat. M3; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 466-467, Rhamn.8), a sunk relief panel (*SEG* 30.226) from the tomb of Pytharchos of Oa (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 199, cat. N4a; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 205-206, cat. N4a; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 475-476, Rhamn.14), a stele with relief loutrophoros (*SEG* 30.209) from the tomb of Aristokleia of Rhamnous (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 199, cat. N4b; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 206, cat. N4b; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 476, Rhamn.15), and a stele (*SEG* 34.224) from the tomb of Hierokles of Rhamnous (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 199–200, cat. N5; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 207-208, cat. N5; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 479-483, Rhamn.18). Lastly, three lekythoi (*SEG* 23.156, 23.157, and 23.160) and a sunk relief stele (*SEG* 23.158) from the tomb of Meidon from Myrrhinous (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 202–203, cat. Q3; Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke*, 234 cat. Q3; Marchiandi, *I periboli funerary nell'Attica classica,* 527-531, Myrr.10) do not include demotics.

73. With the exception of the stele from the tomb of Lysimachides in the Kerameikos, the banquet tombstones cannot be associated with their original archaeological contexts. For some, only the general location where the stele was found is known, for example Marousi (NM 997), the Kerameikos (NM 1025), Piraeus (NM 971; Piraeus 16; Piraeus 261), and Koropi (NM 3785). Others, such as Agora S 3562,

were found in secondary contexts. On the provenance of the stelai, see Dentzer, *Le motif de banquet couché,* 354, and *Agora* 35, cat. 133.

74. Joan Burton, "Women's Commensality in the Ancient Greek World," *Greece & Rome* 45 (1998): 147, and Wilkins and Hill, *Food*, 74–75, both make this point by examining Cornelius Nepos, preface 6–7, and Menander frag. 186 = Ath. 71ef.

75. Carpenter, "*Symposion* of Gods?" 163, further notes that ca. 520 was the date of the earliest Greek banquet reliefs as well as the earliest Dionysos and Ariadne scenes of similar type, and so suggests a marriage association for the reliefs as well.

76. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos,* 92, gives the figure as 18.4%. The most prevalent family grouping depicted in Classical funerary iconography was the portrayal of different generations together (pages 92–93).

77. Wilkins and Hill, *Food*, 63.

2

On When and Where To Find Athenian Forts

Kevin F. Daly

SOMETHING NEW

Recent trips to the mountains surrounding Athens have brought to light a structure that may well be a defensive installation lying on a natural boundary between the Megarid and Attica.[1] To my knowledge this edifice is new to the extensive literature on Athenian fort sites.[2] Its discovery and interpretation require reconsideration of some old questions.

A large installation sits atop the westernmost peak of Mount Trikeraton, around 3.3 km east of the Kantili pass.[3] According to the 1:5000 Hellenic military maps, it lies at 465.20 m above sea level.[4] Oriented to the cardinal compass points, the structure consists of a series of stone walls or wall-socles forming a rough rectangle narrowing toward the east. The longer sides, at north and south, measure ca. 126.7 m and ca. 135.3 m respectively; the southern line jogs a bit north as it proceeds east, while the northern line is generally rectilinear. The western wall/socle measures some 49.5 m in length, while the eastern line, the building's shortest, measures ca. 24.6 m.

Consisting of loose, uncoursed, and unfinished dry masonry from what is probably local stone, these walls are approximately 1.5 m thick and, while generally quite low (on the order of 0.3 m or so), in one spot reach as high as 0.5 m. The line of the four walls has disintegrated to a great degree (they are best preserved at north), but at least one face can usually be traced on each side, and the entire perimeter can be followed quite easily. If these walls were ever completed to a substantial height, one must assume the superstructure was made of mud brick. On the

other hand, dry rubble masonry walls without superstructures are not uncommon, and it may well be that in its completed form the walls would not have reached much higher than 0.5 m. The stones making up the walls are of various sizes and thicknesses, but I saw few larger than ca. 0.5 m in length or ca. 0.3 m in thickness. No evidence of crosswalls or interior supports was found. A gate or entrance to the structure lies at west and measures ca. 2.5 m wide. Although far less clear, a second gate or entrance (preserved on only one side) seems to exist along the northern line some 53 m from the structure's northwest corner. A structure of this size and irregular dimensions would likely have been difficult (if not impossible) to roof, and its walls are probably best thought of as constituting a simple circuit.

With regard to function of this structure, at least two possibilities immediately come to mind. First, this may be a *mandra*, or sheepfold. Indeed, as the surface yielded no ceramic evidence of any kind, it may well be that the structure was meant to house animals, not people. However, cross-cultural comparison suggests that the structure on Trikeraton does not suit the requirements of a traditional *mandra*, since the remains would be much larger than a typical sheepfold, even in the modern period. Citing the work of Badan and Leveau, Kron describes a Roman-era sheepfold embracing 288 square meters (almost sixteen times smaller than the interior of the Trikeraton structure) as "extremely large."[5] A recent visit to what appears to be a traditional sheepfold or agricultural outbuilding deep in the hill country near Oinoe revealed relatively thin walls (ca. 0.55 m) comprising a relatively small building (ca. 74 m in perimeter).[6] The scale and dimensions of the structure on Trikeraton, then, would seem to militate against its identification as a sheepfold.

As a second possibility, the Trikeraton site may have served as a military installation. The forts at Aphidna (ca. 125 m x 40 m), Phyle (ca. 100 m x 40 m), and Aghios Georgios/Ereneia (ca. 100 x 60 m) compare favorably with its size, on average ca. 131 m x 37 m.[7] Besides commanding a clear view toward the eastern Megarian coast and Salamis, this structure also lies quite close to a narrow and steep pass that connects the area of Vlychada (Βλυχάδα) and Loutsa (Λούτσα). While the easiest paths between the Megarid and the Eleusinian plain may have been either the coastal route (protected at some point by the Eutachia Tower) or the Kantili Pass (itself defended by several fortifications), a track that climbed over the lower ridge just east of these walls/socles (leaving the most prominent peaks of Trikeraton to its east) might have represented a third alternative.[8] Indeed modern maps mark a fairly direct unsurfaced road between Loutsa and Vlychada that passes over the range in just this spot. In recent years van de Maele has noted the presence of a many defensive

posts—including both towers and forts—in the neighboring mountains and plains.[9] Since the Trikeraton-Pateras line was defended by numerous installations, another—especially one along a usable pass—comes as no real surprise. It may very well be that the structure under discussion here played a defensive role in conjunction with one or more sites, including Doskouri, Pyrgari, the Kerata Tower, Eutachia, and possibly even Boudoron and the garrison at Eleusis.[10]

Establishing a date for this circuit proves tremendously difficult. No surface sherds were present, nor were any clearly modern remains. Bedrock was apparent in several places on the site, and it seems that much of the topsoil has sloughed down the southern slope. Indeed the soil on the hill seems very thin, and excavation would probably not yield much (if any) stratigraphy contemporary with the building.[11] If an ancient fort, it is tempting to date the structure rather early,[12] but McCredie and Lauter have shown that dry rubble walls like those at Koroni reappear throughout Attica in the later Hellenistic period.[13] This region was the site of frequent battles and incursions in the ancient period, and, in the absence of specific archaeological or literary evidence, attributing this structure to a particular historical moment would seem close to impossible.[14] Of course the edifice on Trikeraton need not be ancient at all. McCredie and Munn have discussed the role of rubble walls in the Greek War of Independence, and it could be that the Trikeraton structure belongs to this, or a later period.[15]

One might also ask who built this structure. While only an approximation, the perimeter approaches 336 m and encloses some 4570 square meters. To give an idea of its scale, the building is both longer and wider than the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora. In all, the scale and location of the installation suggest a significant effort, more likely to be attributed to group activity (perhaps public or civic) rather than to the effort of an individual.[16] As the circuit stands atop a natural division between the Eleusinian and Megarian plains, an affiliation with either Athens or Megara would seem most likely. However, its location need not necessarily cause it to be certainly Megarian or, for that matter, certainly Athenian.[17]

While the evidence on the ground of the Trikeraton structure yields a resounding *non liquet* in terms of establishing the date, purpose, and affiliation of this particular fort (if it is a fort), its discovery does provide a useful opportunity to consider the validity of prevailing theories of rural fortification in and near Athens in the ancient period. As we shall see, the current state of scholarly thinking regarding extra-urban defensive installations has, to a great degree, severely limited both the extant of Attica and the range of possible dates when fort-building near the Athenian border could (or did) occur.

DATING THE DEFENSIVE MINDSET

Over two decades ago Josiah Ober advanced a theory in *Fortress Attica* that argues:

> . . . in the fourth century the Athenians' strategic response to the threat of land invasion was different from the strategy employed during the Peloponnesian War. . . . By the second quarter of the fourth century the Athenians had put into place a system of land defenses designed to stop invaders in the border zone; thus the "city fortress" strategy was extended into a strategy that regarded all Attica as a "fortress."[18]

Phillip Harding, among others, found Ober's basic argument suspect and said as much in print.[19] Thereafter Harding and Ober shared a somewhat heated scholarly exchange regarding what *Fortress Attica* did and did not say, with each focusing to varying degrees on the difference between expression and intention.[20] If one of scholarship's tasks is to determine a winner in past intellectual disputes, a mass of present evidence would lead one to believe that Ober's argument—or at least one aspect of it—has emerged victorious. This does not mean that it was correct.

When he characterizes the Athenian defensive mentality before ca. 404, Ober points to Mardonius' famous description of Greek hoplite battle (Herodotus 7.9),[21] then turns to Pericles' strategy of withdrawing within the Long Walls.[22] For Ober, the ultimate defeat of the Periclean strategy at the hands of a type of economic warfare—which rested on the use of *epiteichismos,* light armed troops for ravaging, and mercenaries[23]—engendered a new strategy for the defense of Attica. The notion of preclusive defense came to the fore, and between the 380s and the late 340s Athenians developed an integrated rural system to keep enemies out of the Athenian *chora* altogether, or at least to deter their advance and their ability to ravage the land.[24] This new strategy allowed the Athenians to meet their enemies in battle (as demanded by the agonal structure described by Mardonius, but denied by Pericles' defensive policy), and also to keep the destruction of their *chora* to a minimum. Ober traces the development of this Athenian mindset by analyzing literary sources. He summarizes his observations and methodology as follows:

> The central thesis of this study is that the psychological and economic impact of the Peloponnesian War, together with the danger posed by the new-style warfare, led to the growth of a defensive mentality at Athens, characterized by a deep fear of enemy invasion and by the determination to guard the homeland against incursions by hostile forces. The defensive mentality is especially notable in the speeches of the fourth century Attic orators, but it is

> also detectable in the writings of contemporary philosophers and historians. . . . The border defense system was based on a line of fortresses designed to defend the passes into Attica from the Megarid and Boeotia, a complex network of signal stations by means of which fire signals could be sent between the fortresses and Athens, and military highways leading from Athens to the border posts.[25]

As we shall see, however, Athenian notions of organized, preclusive defense exist in both theory and practice well before 404.

An argument that ties the installation of Athenian defensive structures to the evolution of a defensive mindset that arises in the fourth century has one clear advantage over an alternative account that would date the emergence of such a defensive mentality to an earlier period: fourth-century theoretical and practical literature has fifth- and sixth-century work vastly outnumbered. While the fourth century can offer complete works by Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, the Ten Attic Orators, Aeneas Tacticus, and others, the fifth century has only Thucydides and Herodotus.[26] Nowhere is this gap clearer than in the purely theoretical literature. Although one might argue that Herodotus' famed Government Debate (3.80–83) considers the same general topic as is discussed in Aristotle's *Politics* or Plato's *Republic* (i.e., the best form of government), in terms of sheer mass and depth the earlier work would surely suffer by such a comparison. In sum, then, given the general lack of much early Attic prose literature, it is simply impossible to generate a list of passages that discuss an imagined or theoretical city from fifth-century sources that would match up one-to-one (or depth-to-depth) with fourth-century sources. On the other hand, oftentimes arguing for fourth-century innovation based on literary attestation is in truth an argument based on fifth-century silence, so we should be judiciously cautious of the premise of novelty.

Nevertheless, if one must compare apples to apples, one important body of fifth-century literature related to notions of a city perhaps deserves to be called theoretical, at least in the sense that it describes and explores alternative realities: Aristophanic comedy. As Sommerstein has pointed out, two of Aristophanes' plays prove particularly theoretical:

> Every successful hero of an Aristophanic comedy changes the world in which he or she lives, sometimes in a small way . . . sometimes in a very big way indeed. . . . But only two Aristophanic heroes create a complete new fantasy city. One of them, Peisetairos in *Birds*, creates it in the clouds, among the birds, and calls it *Nephelokokkygia*, "Cloudcuckooville." The other, Praxagora in *Ecclesiazusae*, creates it in, and out of, Athens itself. . . .[27]

Aristophanes' work also has the added benefit of being Attic and being topical; theory and practice come bundled together. Luckily, this genre deals with defense of a city on several occasions.

Because it is specifically cited as a theoretical work by Sommerstein, *Birds* will be our initial point of departure, and indeed this play has tended to be overlooked as a possible source for examining both the Athenians' fifth-century defensive mentality and defensive reality.[28] *Birds* dates to 414,[29] so we have a rather firm date to consider when trying to reconstruct how Athenians in the late fifth-century might have thought about (or imagined) a defensive system before the betrayal of Oinoe and before the Spartan investment at Dekeleia. As Nephelokokkygia takes shape, a wall—presumably a city-wall[30]—is constructed (line 837), sentries are posted (line 841), fire—presumably for signaling[31]—is tended (line 841), and a bell-ringer—who must be checking on the attentiveness of the guards—is dispatched (line 842).

With this system in place in *Birds*, lines 1170–1250, Aristophanes describes how the city responds to its first invader, the goddess Iris. First (lines 1171–1174), there is great concern as it becomes clear that the invader has somehow slipped past the scouts (ἡμεροσκόποι).[32] Then the περίπολοι of the city—a group that appears to include mounted archers who shoot incendiary arrows (lines 1180 and 1248)—are immediately dispatched (line 1177), and slingers and bowmen are prepared (line 1185). Finally, we hear of a system of identification (through the use of tokens and seals) apparently meant to be distributed to strangers by the city's guards (lines 1213–1214). As portrayed on the comic stage, then, the inhabitants of Cloudcuckooville had a relatively elaborate general system to watch for incursions of outsiders and check their advance.

Later on in *Birds* the audience learns of an individual's role in this system. Pisthetaerus, an aged Athenian, discusses and passes on advice he himself received while still a young man (lines 1362–1367):

> Σοὶ δ', ὦ νεανίσκ', οὐ κακῶς ὑποθήσομαι,
> ἀλλ' οἷάπερ αὐτὸς ἔμαθον ὅτε παῖς ἦν. Σὺ γὰρ
> τὸν μὲν πατέρα μὴ τύπτε, ταυτηνδὶ λαβὼν
> τὴν πτέρυγα καὶ τουτὶ τὸ πλῆκτρον θἀτέρᾳ,
> νομίσας ἀλεκτρυόνος ἔχειν τονδὶ λόφον,
> φρούρει, στρατεύου, μισθοφορῶν σαυτὸν τρέφε.
>
> I'll not advise you badly, young man.
> Instead, I'll tell you what I learned when I was a boy.
> Don't hit your father, but after taking up this here wing
> with one hand and this spear with the other, supposing that this crest you're
> holding belongs to a rooster, serve guard duty, serve on campaign, and feed
> yourself by letting yourself out for hire.[33]

While time and place on the comic stage are far from fixed, it would seem that the Athenian audience of 414 was meant to believe that aged Pisthetaerus had served guard duty in his youth (φρούρει), a duty meant to be distinguished from service as a soldier (στρατεύου).[34] Here it seems that the topic has shifted from what happens in the new bird city to what the experience of an Athenian would have been in his own city.

Besides anticipating some of the diction found in the documents related to later ephebic (and post-ephebic) practices,[35] Pisthetaerus also appears to recall Thucydides' description of the state of Athenian military bodies before the Peloponnesian War (2.13.6–8):

> ὁπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἦσαν.
>
> There were 13,000 hoplites apart from the 16,000 men in the forts (φρούρια) and along the ramparts. For so many were on guard when the enemies first invaded, made up of the oldest, the youngest, and metics, as many as were hoplites.

Taking the texts of Aristophanes and Thucydides at face value, it seems that young Athenian men (whether called νεανίσκοι or νεώτατοι) might have expected to serve at forts within the *chora*. One constituent of this group may have been the περίπολοι.[36] Of course one can always discount a *scholion* as a later interpretation, but the dispatch of περίπολοι within Attica also calls to mind the Syracusan reaction to the Athenian incursion of 411 (Thucydides 6.45.1):

> καὶ ἔς τε τοὺς Σικελοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἔνθα μὲν φύλακας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐς τὰ περιπόλια τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρὰς ἐσεκόμιζον, τά τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅπλων ἐξετάσει καὶ ἵππων ἐσκόπουν εἰ ἐντελῆ ἐστί, καὶ τἆλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντι καθίσταντο.
>
> [The Syracusans] also sent round to the Sicels, to some they sent guards, to others they sent ambassadors, and into the stations in the countryside they installed guards. And as for affairs in the city, they took care—via examination of the arms and mounts—that all was ready, and they otherwise arranged affairs for a hastening (though not quite present) war.

When taken with the passages from *Birds* cited above, Thucydides' mention of practices at Syracuse suggests sophisticated theoretical and practical thinking about defensive systems in the countryside as early as the fifth century.[37]

These earlier texts also call to mind Plutarch's description of Alcibiades' efforts to stage the procession for the Eleusinian Mysteries (*Vit. Alc.* 34). After the Spartans invested Dekeleia in 413, the Athenians had abandoned the land route to Eleusis for the great procession of the Mysteries; they had taken to traveling to the shrine by boat. In 408, however, Alcibiades reasserted his leadership ability by taking special pains to ensure that the procession would take place on the full length of the Sacred Way.[38] He encircled the *mystai* with a detachment of hoplites, but he did so only after sending out an advanced guard as well as scouts to the mountain peaks (Plutarch, *Vit. Alc.* 34.6): σκοποὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάθισε καὶ προδρόμους τινὰς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προεξέπεμψεν, ἱερεῖς δὲ καὶ μύστας καὶ μυσταγωγοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις περικαλύψας. Surely Alcibiades' intent (at least as understood by Plutarch) was to allow these scouts to spot the approach of the Peloponnesians and thereafter to signal the advanced guard and hoplites that the enemy was approaching.[39] One can dispose of Plutarch by identifying him as "late," but surely the evidence provided by *Birds* and Thucydides should make us cautious of such a dismissal.

Indeed Ober himself adduces Thucydides' description of Syracusan institutions as a means to reconstruct Athenian practice. In an article that appeared in the same year as *Fortress Attica* entitled "Thucydides, Pericles, and the Strategy of Defense," he asserts, "Thucydides makes a point of comparing Sicilian Syracuse with Athens."[40] More importantly—and in great contrast with how adherents to the thesis advanced in *Fortress Attica* have applied its conclusions—Ober points out, "There is . . . good reason to suppose that Nicias and his fellow Athenians well understood the defensive use of cavalry and garrisons because . . . Athenian cavalry and garrisons had been on active duty in Attica since the beginning of the Peloponnesian War."[41] He then proceeds to demonstrate that Athenian cavalry engagement with the enemy in the *chora* went from customary (pre-Dekeleia) to daily (post-Dekeleia).[42] He also cites a specific example where soldiers at Oinoe actively disrupted Corinthian interaction with the Spartans at Dekeleia (Thucydides 8.98).[43] There seems, then, to have been a well-integrated defensive system at work in Attica at that time. As Ober comments, "Happily, the cavalry could look to the surviving garrison posts for help."[44] Again, such an observation appears to fly in the face of how *Fortress Attica* has been received and interpreted.

In truth, reading *Fortress Attica* beside this second article proves a tricky business. Despite the fact that in the article Ober seems to have used Thucydides to analyze the nature of Athenian defensive network, in *Fortress Attica* he observes,

> The fifth-century historians show little interest in the idea of intra-border defense, at least in a Greek context. . . . Thucydides was even less interested in

> defense-in-depth than Herodotus. He notes the Athenian attempt to keep the Peloponnesian forces in tight formation by the use of cavalry raids and mentions several garrisons in Attica which occasionally attacked Peloponnesian units. Cavalry raids and rural garrisons may have been a part of a strategy of intra-border defense, but if so, Thucydides does not seem to be aware of the fact. In each case the raids and forts are mentioned briefly and out of context of the overall Athenian defensive strategy.[45]

Apparently the lack of a specific extended discussion of *chora* defense in theoretical terms is a flaw. Indeed Ober says as much in the shorter piece:

> Thucydides, like all historians, had his biases and idées fixes, which come through clearly in the analytical passages and speeches of his history. Yet in his descriptive narrative of events he presents enough discrete pieces of evidence . . . so that later historians may reassemble the jigsaw puzzle for themselves and speculate as to why the picture they see looks different from Thucydides' own.[46]

Setting aside the fact that Thucydides' work may not have been fully revised (at least in its later books), to find fault with what Thucydides does not say seems especially captious, especially when one also allows that the historian provides the evidence used in forming a "different" view.[47] Moreover, there seems to be good early evidence that the Athenians thought about the ways to defend the countryside at an early period, and there also appears to be good evidence that they had mechanisms in place (some of which are described by Thucydides) to apply that theory. And Ober knows this. Hence, if one searches the footnotes of *Fortress Attica* carefully, one finds the following admission: "The Athenian concern for the protection of Attica probably actually antedated the end of the Peloponnesian War."[48]

As cited above, Ober's description of fourth-century defensive practice relies heavily on communication lines and signaling. The use of such signal systems is linked to a rise in practical and theoretical discussion.[49] However, as Pikoulas has now made clear, extensive road systems of a military nature probably already existed in the Bronze Age. Similarly, Fossey has shown that a system of intervisible sites that constituted an integrated communication and defensive system probably existed in Central Greece already in the Mycenaean period.[50] Literary sources of the fifth century also attest to the use of intervisible fire signals over great distances.

The opening scene of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, wherein the watchman at Argos describes fires passing the news of a Greek victory at Troy across the Aegean to Argos, is perhaps the best known example of an early fire signal (*Agamemnon* lines 8–10, 281–315). As a poetic passage set in the

mythic past, it need not necessarily describe a real phenomenon.[51] On the other hand, the historian Herodotus also tells of a comparable message meant to be sent the opposite direction: the Persian commander Mardonius hopes to use fire signals on the islands to inform Xerxes in Sardis that Athens has been taken for a second time.[52] A recent commentary on Herodotus is probably correct to note a reference to Aeschylus' prologue in the Herodotean narrative, but this is surely more than a literary allusion to a tragic invention.[53] Two considerations should make this clear. First, in order to judge the historian's account of Mardonius' motivation believable, a contemporary Greek audience would have had to have considered the system of island-to-island communication by fire as something within the realm of possibility.[54] In short, plausibility among audience members (whether the work be prose or poetry) may have been a concern, especially since veterans of the Persian Wars may have been in the listening audience.[55] Second, such signals were clearly in use in the fifth century. While Homer mentions fire signals, the earliest historical signal of this kind—from Sciathus to Artemisium, a minimum distance of some 13.5 km—dates to 480.[56] Thucydides records that in 428 (thirty years after the *Oresteia* and roughly contemporary with Herodotus' narrative) part of the Plataean plan to break through the Peloponnesian circumvallation included the (ultimately successful) disruption of the fire signals meant to call in aid from Thebes (3.22). Thucydides also recounts that in 411 the Athenians at Sestos were made aware of the departure of the Peloponnesian fleet from Chios and arrival in the Hellespont via fire signals.[57] This sea journey covered some 250 kilometers or more and was done in great haste; in fact, the historian emphasizes its speed by stressing that the whole voyage took place in the course of a single evening (8.101).[58] Nonetheless, thanks in part to fire signals, the Athenians had real-time knowledge of the Peloponnesian mission. Besides fire and smoke, other signal systems also seem to have been employed well before the end of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides reports that in 411 a signal (σημεῖον) from Eretria to Oropos—a distance the historian is careful to tell us is sixty stades (ca. eleven kilometers)—during daylight hours called in the Peloponnesian fleet (8.95).[59] This signal was "raised" (ἤρθη), terminology that perhaps suggests a flag or banner.[60] More specific to the present investigation, at least one well-known prose reference also records signaling of a different sort within Attica itself.

The rumor of an Alcmaeonid communication with the Persians following the battle of Marathon was sufficiently pervasive and credible enough to demand Herodotus' attention (6.115; 6.123–124). While he ultimately discounts the assumed content and context of the message (6.124), Herodotus does not question the method of signal (the raising of a shield), or the fact that the signal itself took place. Indeed, as his phrasing shows,

the historian adamantly asserts that the event took place (though he does quibble with its interpretation):

> Ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.[61]
>
> For a shield *was* displayed, and this [inquiry] is not to say otherwise: for it happened. However, as to who was the one who displayed it, I am not able to say any more beyond what I have said.

While many assume that the signal came from a shield's glint, in fact there is no mention of the sun or a glint at all; nonetheless, the belief that the signal had to be a flash of sunlight is widespread.[62] While the notion of a shield polished enough to give a signal may seem strange to us, to the ancients it was apparently acceptable. In the Aristophanic passage describing Lamachus' departure for Phyle, the aged warrior polishes his shield (*Acharnians* lines 1128–1129) with olive oil to a mirror-like sheen and therein sees the reflected image of Dikaiopolis. Of course this is not meant to suggest that Lamachus was preparing to signal with this shield; instead, this is a useful reminder that the Athenian audience would find a shield acting like a mirror believable and perhaps even typical. Indeed the famed Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, plays on such an expectation by showing a fallen warrior facing his own image within his shield.[63] In any case, both by day and night, then, signals could be passed within Athenian territory by various means, and one should probably assume that the peaks of hills and mountains were the best sites from which to send such messages.

Here we must note that in *Fortress Attica* Ober knows of the evidence of signal systems that predate the advent of the preclusive defensive system he envisions.[64] Nonetheless, Ober then focuses his study on the later use of signals and on the later didactic literature that discusses the topic. The earlier evidence is downplayed.[65] But if such systems existed at Athens both within the literary imagination and in reality at a relatively early date, then the Athenians surely must have been thinking about, and even using such systems long before the end of the Peloponnesian War.

How, then, do we account for the apparent rise in theoretical and practical interest in defensive systems and strategies in the fourth century? If these ideas are not new, why do they only appear in great number at a later period? First, as has been noted above, there is the simple matter of survival: we have more fourth-century (and later) texts than we do fifth-century (and earlier). But survival alone need not imply innovation. Second, it seems quite likely that extended theoretical and didactic defensive literature postdates defensive practice. Just as we know that temples

were built before theoretical works of architecture emerged, and just as medicine was practiced before the Hippocratic corpus arose, and—to use a topic closer to the present discussion—just as the torsion catapult was developed long before it was discussed in theoretical or mechanical terms, so too defending the *chora* likely existed as a system in reality before it existed as a system in preserved theory.[66]

The recent excavations at Phylla Vrachos provide a useful test case for the sequence of defensive practice and theory as sketched out above. The nature and disposition of the fort's interior structures have prompted discussion of the social and military forces that would have determined these arrangements.[67] The particular details of these interpretations are less important than a general observation noted by Munn in his review of the major publication concerning the excavation at Phylla Vrachos:

> The most striking and definite feature to emerge from this investigation of Phylla Vrachos is the evidence for a rational organization and deployment of a military force by civic authorities (be they Athenians, Athenian cleruchs, or Eretrians). The evident division of this force into eating and drinking units calls to mind the *sussitia* of Lycurgan Sparta. The number of such dining units accommodated in Building 3, twenty, calls to mind the decimal system of civic and military organization that the Athenians adopted at the proposal of Cleisthenes at the very time of the Chalkidian cleruchy (as the excavators point out, Eretria had a five-fold military organization). Rational organization of soldiery in this manner, and particularly the organization of *sussitia* and their installation in garrison posts, was an ideal that found later expression in the thought of Plato (*Republic* 416e, *Critias* 112b, *Laws* 625e, e.g.) and Aristotle (*Politics* 1264a, 1331a, e.g.). Aristotle even points out that such dining groups promoted an anti-tyrannical spirit (*Politics* 1313a). Discussions of the background and historical development of such political theorizing now needs to take account of the physical manifestation of such concepts at the end of the archaic period at Phylla Vrachos.[68]

It would seem, then, that Phylla Vrachos presents evidence that archaic military structures anticipate in stone the military strategies and philosophies expressed in prose close to a century later. If such an assessment is accurate, the development defensive theory did not drive defensive practice; instead, practice drove theory.[69]

I suggest, then, that just like the Syracusans demonstrably had a complex and coordinated defensive system at work within their *chora* by 411, the Athenians would have had the same at a fairly early period, and, as I have attempted to show above, evidence for this network exists both on the ground of Attica as well as in the literary sources. Certainly there probably was a rise in the building of defensive structures within Athenian territory sometime after the Peloponnesian War, but this was not

necessarily an innovation. Fossey, who has studied defensive systems within Central Greece in the Bronze Age and Archaic periods, observes the following considering the evidence of a fourth-century network: "There are . . . good reasons to think that the appearance of this sort of system under the Theban hegemony was not something new, but rather the re-emergence of an older idea."[70] To my mind the same process was likely at work in Athens, and the integrated fourth-century network of defense Ober describes is probably a function of evolution, not revolution. Instead, what probably was in fact revolutionary was the limited use to which Periclean policy exploited this earlier system. With this understanding, the frustration of the Athenians upon seeing the destruction of their countryside during the Archidamian War becomes all the more intelligible. Following the disastrous conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians slowly returned to the practices of an older system. This return required new building, and it no doubt also required some rethinking. To my mind, the coincidence of the rebuilding of Attic forts with the apparent florescence of theoretical literature regarding defense of the Athenian countryside marks this revival. But since renaissance is not the same as novelty, evidence that suggests earlier defensive building and earlier defensive thinking should not be downplayed.[71] But where should one look for these early forts?

DATING DEFENSIVE STRUCTURES AT THE BORDERS

Pikoulas' extensive work on the road systems of Greece has led him to draw several important general conclusions:

> The remains of the ancient road-network in Greece suggest that it was a systematic operation undertaken by state authority: the roads were properly and regularly repaired and parallel routes were provided along central axes of communication. It is logical to assume that such a sophisticated and complete road-network would presuppose a powerful central authority that would be in charge of a project of this scale with a view to provide efficient transportation, communication, and maintenance services. I have come to the conclusion that the Peloponnesian League, with Sparta as its motivating force, must have been the central authority that created and supervised the cart-road network in the Peloponnese. The evidence suggests that the creation of the network is to be dated to the seventh century (at the latest), with the middle of the sixth century, when the Peloponnesian League was consolidated, being a landmark for its later development; this is when the road-network is extended with the creation of new and alternative roadways and the practice spreads to the whole of the Peloponnese and the rest of Greece. Attika, Central Greece, and the Cyclades possessed a similar cart-road

> system. I have recently offered the hypothesis that possibly the "know-how" of constructing a wheel-road reached Lakonia, the Cyclades and Attika from Ionia as early as the Geometric or the early Archaic period. In these areas it was developed, and later spread out to the rest of Greece.[72]

He has also concluded that such routes should be thought of as primarily military: "I would also like to point out the military character of the road network. According to our data the soldiers were the first to use the road network, followed by the merchants."[73] Furthermore, the system of cart roads likely required regular observation so as to prevent bottlenecks, particularly at steeper grades: "I assume on the basis of the evidence that at the key points of a difficult route there must have stood individuals, 'watchers', whose duty it was to inform the driver from a distance (by either visual or sound signal) whether a particular section of the road was free."[74] If Pikoulas' observations are correct, one might expect that cart roads traversed Attica at the beginning of the historical period;[75] such roads would be military in nature and be lined with points of observations. While noting the difficulty of dating the particular roads he examines ("I have the impression that one could dig away meters and meters of road without finding anything that would help do date it"),[76] Vanderpool's assessment of the cart path up the Oinoe road toward the Mazi plain and the foot path toward Panakton in 1978 strongly resonates with Pikoulas' general observations:

> These roads are major construction projects. They were not built by the local residents, the shepherds, the resin gatherers, the charcoal burners, the few farmers of the district. They must have been built by the state and built to fill a special need. They lead from the plain of Eleusis (and hence from Athens) through the hills of two major ancient forts on or near the frontier with Boeotia, Oinoe and Panakton. They are undoubtedly military roads, built to assure quick and easy movement of troops and supplies between the center and the border forts. Furthermore, there is no evidence that [the Oinoe and Panakton] roads continued on to Boeotia . . . [The Oinoe and Panakton] roads are Attic roads, not "international" highways. They lead to areas where there were important Attic forts and do not go beyond. They must therefore have been built when the defense of these forts was important, namely in Classical and Hellenistic times. Both Oinoe and Panakton figure prominently in the Peloponnesian War, and the forts no doubt existed for some time before that. They also figure in the history of the fourth and third centuries BCE, after which we hear no more of them. The history of the roads probably parallels that of the forts, and we may assume that they existed and were used through the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[77]

Although Vanderpool shies away from naming a specific construction date for the particular roadways he investigates, an application of Pikou-

las' conclusions, which stem from a study of Greek roads as a corpus to be assessed *in toto*, would recommend an early date for Attic roads like those studied by Vanderpool.[78] This early period of construction should also be matched by some kind of contemporary military interest in the areas to which such roads lead.[79] It is worth asking if evidence exists in the early period that might suggest such an interest.

References to early myths and legends do indeed provide a useful means of accessing and assessing hints of an earlier defensive system. At least one tradition would seem to attest to an active military route that led from (or to) Boeotia and to (or from) the Eleusinian plain. Pausanias reports that the bodies of the Seven were buried outside Eleusis (1.39):

> Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυνάστευε τότε ἐν Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν Ἐτεοκλέους, οὐ παρῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελομένοις θάψαι· ἱκετεύσαντος δὲ Ἀδράστου Θησέα καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς Βοιωτούς, Θησεὺς ὡς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαψε.
>
> For Creon, who was ruling at that time in Thebes as regent for Eteokles the son of Laodamon, would not allow the kin to bury their dead. But after Adrastus came as a suppliant to Theseus and a battle arose of Athenians against Boeotians, Theseus, when he prevailed in battle, ferried the corpses to Eleusis and buried them there.

Taking the myth at its face, there seems to have been early large-scale military travel between Boeotia and points in Attica. This event is not necessarily a late invention, as Herodotus reports a similar account when he recalls the Athenian speech used to convince the Greek alliance to let them hold a wing position before the Battle of Plataea (9.27):

> Τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκρούς φαμεν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι.
>
> There is also the matter of the Argives, the ones who marched with Polynices against Thebes. Upon their death they lay unburied, but we declare that we made war upon the Cadmeans, gathered up the corpses, and buried them in our territory in Eleusis.

As we shall explore further below, regional myths and documented fortified settlements may be closely linked, and a recent epigraphic find from Thebes appears to provide direct contemporary evidence for the existence of some kind of early military road system related to Attic fort sites. But, where exactly would these early Attic military roads start and end?

A longtime student of the Attic/Boeotian frontier, Mark Munn has recently traced the shifting conceptualization and description of this border area.[80] He notes that Thucydides describes three separate attacks on places the historian calls "Attica" at the start of the Peloponnesian War: Oinoe (2.18.1), the plain of Eleusis (2.19.1), and Plataea (5.20.1).[81] Of these, the last is perhaps most surprising, for according to most modern conceptualizations of Attica, Plataea does not fall within Athenian territory. But apparently that is not what Thucydides thought (or at least wrote). Munn's analysis shows that the exact definition of the border between Boeotia and Attica was probably in flux for much of the late fifth century. As he suggests, it very may well be that Plataea was considered to be Athenian ground at that time:

Herodotus, writing in the last decades of the fifth century, felt no need to explain how Hysiae, a Boeotian neighbor of Plataea, could have been considered a part of "of Attica," except to say that it was among "the outermost demes of Attica" (δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, 5.74.2 . . .). I suggest that Plataea was likewise regarded, by Athenians in the last decades of the fifth century, as one of the "outermost demes of Attica."[82]

Exactly what constitutes the "first" attack "into Attica" in the text of Thucydides depends on one's historical and cultural perspective. For Thucydides, Plataea was—at least at some point or in some way—part of Attica.[83] Munn goes on to demonstrate Oinoe's status was occasionally contested as it lay in a border area;[84] Eleusis was more solidly Attic, but, as Munn observes, "it is worth reflecting Thucydides can recall a time when the Athenian state did not include Eleusis, when the king of Eleusis (Eumolpus) had made war on the king of Athens (Erechtheus, 2.15.1)."[85] Of central concern to Munn is the notion of what he calls the "Attic Question," the exact territorial definition of Athens in the time of Thucydides.[86] While his discussion then turns to the timing and importance of the "Attic Question" relative to Athenian external relations and the text of Thucydides, what interests me is the importance of the general observation that the shape and extent of Attica changed over time. Hence, one might have to admit that there existed a vision of a "Greater Attica," a space which Athenians used to inhabit and claim as their own and upon whose edges they built fortifications, but one that they were not always successful in maintaining at any given historical moment in later times. Indeed the evidence shows that those places Thucydides calls the initial three points of incursion during the Peloponnesian War (Oinoe, Plataea, and Eleusis) were already defended by fortification by the last third of the fifth century.

In 431 Oinoe had fortifications, and these fortifications were longstanding (Thucydides 2.18.1):

> Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προϊὼν ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον, ἥπερ ἔμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ὡς ἐκαθέζοντο, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὖσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὁπότε πόλεμος καταλάβοι.
>
> But the army of the Peloponnesians arrived in their invasion first near Oinoe, just where they intended to enter. And after they encamped they prepared to make attacks upon the fortification with machines and other in other ways. For Oinoe, which is on the borderlands of Attica and Boiotia, had been fortified, and the Athenians used it as a fort when there was war.

The historian's phraseology here makes it clear that war (πόλεμος) near Oinoe was nothing new ("when there was war"), that the site was fortified (τεῖχος; ἐτετείχιστο), and that it was used as a fort (φρούριον). And why was it defended in such a way as to require a siege? Because (γάρ) Oinoe lay in a frontier region (ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὖσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο).[87] It seems, then, that the defenses at Oinoe were not in place to stop minor raids, but rather were envisioned as a means to withstand outright attack from the bordering area.

As any reader of Thucydides will know, Plataea, like Oinoe, was also fortified before 431 and withstood the Peloponnesians' siege for some time. Could the Athenians have been the ones to fortify Plataea? At first such a notion might seem problematic, but the problem arises only from a restricted, later conceptualization of fixed Attic borders.[88]

According to Herodotus, the Plataeans delivered themselves to the Athenians for protection against Thebes in the late sixth century (6.108).[89] In a speech in Thucydides (3.55), the Plataeans claim to have been accepted into the Athenian state at that time (πολιτείας μετέλαβεν).[90] Certainly the Plataeans were conspicuous in being the lone Greeks to join the Athenians at the Battle of Marathon in 490 (Herodotus 6.111). It should not be surprising, then, that by Thucydides' day Plataea could be thought of as lying within Attica. Pausanias mentions that the Athenians actively engaged in border disputes at Plataea at 9.6, where, in a digression about famous Theban battles, we find that ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μάχῃ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἀμυνά ντων, ὅτε σφᾶς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅρων πολεμῆσαι τῆς χώρας. "They [the Thebans] were defeated in battle by the Athenians, who were defending the Plataeans when a war arose about the borders of the territory".

The date of this conflict is not expressed, but its message is clear: Athenians and Thebans fought near Plataea over borders. Whose borders are not clear, but it might well be those of Athens. Furthermore, as Munn has shown in a 1989 article, it is worth noting that there exist both historical

and mythic instances where the mountains between Athens and Thebes did not represent a division, but rather a feature within a continuum:

> The frontier [created by the Kithairon-Parnes chain] was primarily a cultural frontier . . . for it was not inevitable that nations be divided by it. In the span of history Boiotia and Attica were at times joined across it, historically in the time of the Frankish Duchy of Athens (when the ducal palace was at Thebes), and legendarily in the time of King Kekrops (according to Strabo 9.2.18). If this last example be too far back in the murk of primeval legend, then it is at least worth noting that the Greeks of classical times could *imagine* a time when the Kithairon–Parnes mountains were not a dividing line.[91]

As we shall see, the Athenians are known to have fortified areas that fall well outside of later conceptions of Attic territory (especially those to which they held a traditional tie), so it may very well be that the Athenians applied this practice to Plataea as well.

With regard to fortifications at Eleusis, Thucydides is fairly reticent, yet we might get a clue to its defensive importance by studying what he writes about an invasion by Spartans in 446 (1.114):

> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὔβοια ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον· ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρῆς. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδήωσαν Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.
>
> Not long after this Euboea revolted from the Athenians, and when Pericles had already crossed over there with a force of Athenians, it was announced to him that Megara had revolted, that Peloponnesians were on the brink of invading Attica, and that the Athenians' guards had been killed by the Megarians (save for as many as fled to Nisaia). The Megarians were in revolt after bringing in Corinthians, Sikyonians, and Epidaurians. Pericles led the army back from Euboea with all haste. And after this the Peloponnesians, with Pleistonax son of Pausanias and king of the Lacedaemonians as their leader, ravaged the land upon making their assault into Attica at Eleusis and Thria. And advancing no further they withdrew to go back home.

Besides reiterating that the Athenians had previously placed guards (φροῦροι) at Megara, this passage makes it clear that the Peloponnesians did not proceed beyond the plain of Eleusis. While various reasons might be adduced for the halt of the advance, it may very well be that Eleusis

(or the Eleusinian plain) served as a point for Athenians to make a stand. Diodorus Siculus appears to allude to this very fact in his own description of Pelistonax's assault on Attica in 446 (12.6.2):

> Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμαρχίδου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Σπόριον Ταρπήιον καὶ Αὖλον Ἀστέριον Φοντίνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθησαν πολλὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν φρουρίων τινὰ πολιορκήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, Τολμίδης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς εἷλε Χαιρώνειαν.
>
> In the year of the archonship of Timarchides at Athens, in which the Romans put Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Asterius Fontinius *consules*: In these times the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica and devastated the land, and upon laying siege to some of the forts they withdrew back to the Peloponnese. Tolmides, the general of the Athenians, seized Chaeroneia.[92]

In describing the same invasion, Thucydides reports the Spartans stopped near Eleusis, while Diodorus claims that they "laid siege to some of the forts." If both accounts are accepted and reconciled,[93] the Dorians must have assaulted defensive positions in the plain of Eleusis and Thria. Furthermore, in 431, when Periclean strategy (at least as commonly envisioned) would suggest that Athenians would remain within the Long Walls, Thucydides' text refers to a cavalry battle on this very plain (2.19). After Archidamus' force moves on to Acharnae (2.19), we hear of no more such engagements. Hence by the time of the Archidamian War, Eleusis and the Eleusinian frontier may have been a location where the Athenians envisioned resistance as natural or as useful,[94] even when practicing a new defensive strategy.[95] A history of previous invasions appears to back this up.

When describing the Lacedaemonian incursion into Athenian territory of 506, Herodotus recalls four prior Dorian invasions of Attica (5.76).[96] The exact reckoning of the number of invasions of Attic before 506 aside,[97] for the most part we observe that the forces appear to have stopped (or to have been stopped) at the border regions near Eleusis. In some instances the enemies advanced further, but in these cases they had been invited in by Athenian citizens. Various reasons are provided for the halt at the borderlands (including, on at least one occasion, bribery), but it very well may be that Eleusis was a longstanding strongpoint meant to endure or to deter invasion. An army marching toward the city of Athens via Eleusis would have to neutralize the fort there or accept a hostile presence at its rear.[98] Even the immensely successful enemy invasion of 506 is punctuated by a list of sites that suggests battles or stops at potential (or established) defensive positions: Oinoe, Hysiae, and Eleusis (Herodotus 5.74). Eleusis is notable among this group, and certainly Travlos recognized an

"extensive fortified enceinte" at Eleusis in the Geometric period, and this circuit would have augmented an acropolis that was "fortified, at least from Mycenaean times, by a special wall."[99] Lauter dates the defensive structures a bit later: "[T]he religious settlement of Eleusis, with its many 'profane' residents, was undisputedly walled from at least Archaic times onwards."[100]

In sum, whatever their immediate political status (conceived or real), the three positions of the initial Lacedaemonian assault on Attic soil in the Archidamian War: Oinoe, Plataea, and Eleusis, can be reasonably argued to have had built defensive structures prior to the date of that conflict. The presence of fortifications in these spots matches Camp's general observation regarding Athenian demes in pre-Hellenistic times: "If a deme was not on the border, it was not fortified."[101] The Athenians were defending their borders at an early date.

CONSTRUCTING A "GREATER ATTICA"

But just how far back should one be willing to place fortifications on the borders—or at least an expectation that fortifications might have been in place? Put another way, how far back should one place an Athenian consciousness of frontiers that would expect fortifications at key points of entry and exit? Plataea aside, what other places defined the mythic boundaries of Attica? Do they also have early fortifications? Are there indications that the Athenians once had a larger territory encompassing more (or different) border sites and that these sites were also fortified?

Myths of early confrontation and Athenian habitation preserved in later literary texts hint that the Athenians had a sense that Attica's extent was much greater than is often allowed today. To take some specific examples, the sources suggest that three sites, Panakton, Megara, and Euboea, lie at the limits of this conceptual "Greater Attica." Furthermore, these three seem to have been fortified by Athenian hands at an early date.

In a 1989 article (noted briefly above) in which he presents initial results of a survey of the Skourta plain, Munn traces the early myths surrounding the territory of Panakton.[102] In the interest of space I will not rehearse these tales here. Instead, it will suffice to say that the Athenians and Boeotians laid claim to this area via an elaborate series of tales about the border territories. That Panakton was fortified by the last quarter of the fifth century is quite clear. Thucydides calls it a "fortification on the border territory of the Athenians" (Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθόροις τεῖχος), and details its capture by the Boeotians in 422 (5.3), the struggle for the Athenians to reclaim it (5.35), and its ultimate destruction by the Boeotians (5.39). The historian reports that the news of its demolition as one of the

primary reasons the Athenians would eventually (under Alcibiades' influence) oppose peace with Sparta (5.42–45), and Nicias explicitly calls for its restoration (5.46).

Despite Panakton's clear significance to the fifth-century Athenian δῆμος,[103] the importance of this site as a testament to Athenian attempts to fortify its borders at an early period has tended to be downplayed by some modern scholars. One reason for this seems to be that the evidence of its early fortification argues against an attempt to establish a fourth-century date for the theory and practice of integrated Athenian defense, and another reason it seems to get ignored is that it is not attested as a later deme site. Hence we read the following in Oliver:

> Archaeological evidence for towers increases in the border areas of Attica in the fourth century. The vulnerable but strategic demes were fortified (Oinoe at Myopoulis and Aphidna at Kotroni) or forts were built nearby (Phyle). All indications are that military command, military organizations, politics, and the infrastructure itself had institutionalized 'the defence of the *chora*'.[104]

Oliver does mention Panakton on the page quoted here, but not in the main text: it appears in a footnote with the following observation: "The fort at Panakton never occupied a deme site."[105] Oliver clearly means here to distinguish Oinoe, Aphidna, and Phyle—all epigraphically attested later deme sites—from Panakton. But to what end? Why does it matter that it was not a deme site? Could it be that the presence of an early defensive site at a site not recognized as a deme might indicate that the defense of the chora was both earlier and more complex than the fourth-century model suggests? Indeed elsewhere Oliver must acknowledge the importance of Panakton and Phyle "throughout the fifth century" and recognizes that, "Obviously the defensible centres of population of Attica were a central feature of the Attic landscape as much in the late fifth century as the early Hellenistic period."[106] Oliver is correct in naming these sites as critical to a later Athenian defensive posture, but now that Munn has demonstrated that the early mythic territory of Attica extends beyond the limits of the ultimate deme structure, fixation on fortified deme sites of a later period as proof of the origin of a defensive strategy in the fourth century seems problematical. After all, as we have seen, even Plataea (like Hysiae) might have been thought of as an Attic deme in the early period. In short, the value of a well-fortified Panakton, as well as the other border locations with rich early mythic traditions, appears to have been demonstrated by actual building and by the vitality of tales of early Athenians at and near these locations.

One may wonder, then, if the notion of "Greater Attica" is simply an invention of the high Classical period, an invention meant to provoke or

rationalize aggressive Athenian action. While possible, the evidence on the ground seems to indicate that the Athenians actually built defensive structures in these areas at an early date. These tales were not propaganda invented to *create* the notion of an expanded Attica (which is not to say that they could not have been used to spur on military action as well); instead they reflect the memory of a time when then Athenians actually *did* build defensive sites beyond the reach of their later territorial limits. Could it be that these early installations at sites far distant from Athens were not built by Athenians? Of course. However, as we shall see, the coincidence of myth, history, and epigraphy point to Athenian initiative.

We turn next to Megara. When defining the extent of Athenian territory Strabo presents something of a précis of the body of myth concerning its reach (9.1.4–7). While Strabo's account is too lengthy to quote in full, for our purposes his conclusion regarding these myths is noteworthy (9.1.6): ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ Μεγαρὶς τῆς Ἀττικῆς μέρος ἦν, τούτοις χρῶνται τεκμηρίοις ("[The logographers], then, use these proofs (τεκμήρια) that the Megarid was a part of Attica").[107] The fact that these myths are "used" (χρῶνται) in Strabo's day might imply some sort of political position rather than a reality. But that is no doubt part of his point. Mythic traditions shape a sense of political and cultural territory.[108] Moreover, in the particular context of defining early Athens' limits (9.1.4–7), Strabo's selection of quotes indicates that discussion of the extent of Athenian lands was current in the fifth century. In this regard a snippet of Sophocles' *Aigeus* deserves further exploration. The fragment (*TrGF*, no. 24) discusses the division of Attica among Pandion's four sons, Aegeus, Lycus, Pallas, and Nisus. Included in Attic lands to be apportioned out are Euboea and the Megarid. One must conclude that in the Attic mindset of Sophocles' day, if not earlier (and surely Sophocles knew and exploited earlier myth), these areas were once part of Athenian holdings. If Strabo's interpretation of earlier sources (some now lost) can be trusted to rely on longstanding Attic myths,[109] and if Sophocles' text in any way reflects the mindset of his age, then these myths of expansive Athenian territory were alive and well in Periclean Athens. Furthermore, if Athens indeed had a traditional claim to both Euboea and Megara, then Thucydides' description of Pericles' lightning action at Euboea and Megara in 446 (1.114; quoted above) highlights him defending the farthest reaches of traditional Attic territory.

Pausanias' understanding of Athens' traditional land claims also points to the Megarid as being considered Athenian territory;[110] he founds his belief on both physical remains and early traditions (Paus. 1.39.4):

> Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ ἤδη πλησιόχωρος <ἡ> καλουμένη Μεγαρίς· τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὕτη τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Πύλα τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπόντος Πανδίονι.

μαρτύρια δέ μοι τάφος τε Πανδίονος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ Νῖσος Αἰγεῖ μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ τοῦ παντὸς γένους παραχωρήσας Ἀθηναίων ἄρχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Κορίνθου βασιλεύειν ἀξιωθείς· Νίσαιά τε ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπίνειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται.

The so-called Megarid is immediately adjacent to Eleusis. In early times this too was Athenian, after King Pylas left it to Pandion. My proof for this is that the grave of Pandion is in this land and that Nisus yielded to his eldest son, Aegeus, the right to rule the Athenians, but he thought himself worthy to rule the Megarians and the land as far as Corinth. And even now the port for the Megarians is still called Nisaea after him.

Besides being considered Attic in the early period, the Megarid also held relatively early Athenian-built fortifications.[111] As we shall see, the evidence for Athenian building at Megara comes from Classical sources, so one should be wary of dismissing how Strabo and Pausanias define Attica simply because they are considered "late."

Thucydides reports that the Athenians built the Long Walls of Megara near 457 and stationed a set of guards (φροῦροι) there (1.103):

προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον· καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ᾠκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί.

The Megarians also came into alliance with the Athenians after revolting from the Lacedemonians, because the Corinthians were engaged in war along the boundaries of their land. The Athenians held Megara and Pegae, and they built the Long Walls for the Megarians—the ones that ran from the city toward Nisaea—and they manned it themselves. [112]

These men would be the same guards killed or displaced in Pleistonax's invasion about a decade later. But the claim to Nisaea persisted. As Thucydides tells us, the Athenians would ultimately yield Nisaea shortly after the events of 446 by the terms of the Thirty Years' Peace (1.115), but the right of Athenian ownership (or at least occupation) of Nisaea became re-established and codified some quarter of a century later in the Peace of Nicias (5.17). In fact, evidence of a historical Athenian occupation of Nisaea could be as old as ca. 560, when the elder Peisistratus—no stranger to mythic associations—captured the spot (Herodotus 1.59). While this victory might well have occasioned Athenian defensive works (and was important enough that the tyrant could cite it as a special reason to be granted club-bearing protectors),[113] the first half of the fifth century seems to be the earliest date beyond dispute for the installation of defenses at Megara built by Athenians. At that time the Athenians exported (and

manned themselves) what has been called "the most revolutionary development in the history of Greek strategy":[114] the Long Walls. It is probably significant that Strabo begins his lengthy overview of *Attic* territory only after reviewing the following topography of *Megara* (9.1.3):

> μετὰ δὲ τὰς Σκειρωνίδας πέτρας ἄκρα πρόκειται Μινῴα ποιοῦσα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νισαίᾳ λιμένα. ἡ δὲ Νίσαια ἐπίνειόν ἐστιν τῶν Μεγάρων δεκαοκτὼ σταδίους τῆς πόλεως διέχον, σκέλεσιν ἑκατέρωθεν συναπτόμενον πρὸς αὐτήν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Μινῴα.
>
> After the Skeironian rocks the headland of Minoa juts out and creates the harbor at Nisaea. Nisaea is the Megarians' port and lies 18 stades from the city and is joined to it on both sides by the legs (of the Long Walls). This port also used to be called Minoa.

For Strabo, mention of Megara's Long Walls and Nisaea appear have occasioned a review of the myths of Attic claims to the territory as a whole. The early myths and the early walls are tied together.

The fragment from Sophocles mentioned above also shows that an Athenian audience in the fifth century heard a mythic claim to Euboea as well. In fact Athens' activity in Euboea is clear as early as the middle of the sixth century, when, as Herodotus reports (1.61–62), the elder Peisitratus took refuge at Eretria, from which city the tyrant would plot his return. In 506 the Athenians crossed over to Euboea, conquered the Chalcidians, and installed 4000 cleruchs (Herodotus 5.77). These cleruchs were expelled in 490 (Herodotus 6.100). Though only a guess, either the expulsion or installation of the cleruchs may be recalled in a recently reported Boeotian inscription discovered in Thebes:[115]

> [------]ος ϝοινόας καὶ Φυλᾶς
> [------] ϝελόντες κὲλευσῖνα
> [------]αι Χαλκίδα λυσάμενοι
> [------]μδι ἀνέθειαν

The occasion and date of the inscription are not secure,[116] but is thought to belong to the late Archaic period and tied to the Attic/Boeotian/Euboean events of 506 and 490. The text also appears to mention some familiar names: Oinoe, Phyle, and Eleusis. All are later Attic strongholds, and all appear to be linked in the inscription with Chalkis. That the Boeotians would be interested in memorializing in stone an event centering on these names would fit with their recorded mythic and historical interest in Athenian border sites. Further, if Boeotians were engaged militarily with these sites sometime in the Late Archaic period, it seems likely that some type of military road system connecting them probably was in place

(as Pikoulas' argument would suggest). It is worth asking whether any archaeological evidence suggests direct Athenian involvement in Euboea in these early years. In particular, is there evidence of Athenian-built fortifications in or near Euboea at this time? Perhaps so.

We return now to Phylla Vrachos, the site excavated by an Anglo-Greek team and published in 1992. Their work yields clear ceramic evidence of occupation in the late sixth to early fifth century BCE.[117] The excavators interpret the site to be military in nature, and in this second phase—the first phase dates to the Late Geometric period—its lone major building may have housed about 200 men, a size the excavators compare favorably to the size of Attic garrisons.[118] After reviewing the position of the fort, the excavators note,

> The site around Phylla Vrachos would . . . normally have belonged to Chalkis. But the site is unlikely to have served the Chalkidians as a general-purpose border strongpoint, since it gave a clear view toward their own city, but could be approached unseen by a hostile force from Eretria.[119]

Citing the occupation date of the fort as one near the events described by Herodotus, the excavators hypothesize that "the Phylla Vrachos fort might have been occupied in order to protect land holdings at some distance from the cleruchic centre."[120] In the next sentence, however, we find a qualification born of the prevailing modern theory of Athenian defensive building: "The strategy of territorial defense by means of forts was in general a fourth-century development, but the unusual circumstances of a cleruchy might have led to a precocious adoption of it."[121] If the argument laid out above that links Athenian mythic ties to border areas with an early use of fortification proves valid, then the defenses at Phylla Vrachos might not have been "precocious" at all. As we have seen, rural defensive thinking was not, "in general a fourth century development." Furthermore, the Athenians defended their border territories at an early date. To be fair, the publication of the site also raises the strong possibility that the fort is an Eretrian settlement (indeed the bulk of the pottery seems to be local), so a direct tie to Athens must be speculative. On the other hand, as these scholars observe, "These arguments are not conclusive, however, for the close alliance of the Eretrians with the Athenians might have led them to assist an Athenian garrison in the construction of barracks as much as in supplying pottery."[122] Ultimately the scholars determine that, "The question of Athenian or Eretrian occupation must remain open, although on balance current evidence perhaps favors Eretria; the historical circumstances would be much the same in either case."[123] It is hoped that the evidence supplied above of early Athenian fortification within a "Greater Attica" might lend a bit more credence to the notion of

Athenian building and occupation. If the historical record is to be trusted, Athens was clearly active in these parts at an early date. Furthermore, myths of early Attica also extend Athenian territory into Euboea.[124] In any event, we certainly should not let a theory of fourth-century defensive fort-building drive the interpretation of sixth- and fifth-century evidence. Evidence should shape theories, not the other way around.

CONCLUSION

The evidence suggests that Athenians thought about rural defense and actively defended outlying territory by military buildings at an earlier date and in a wider range of places than usually allowed. Furthermore, over time ancient Athenian borders—like no few modern borders—moved. While the occasion and circumstance of the construction of the new fort on Trikeraton remain unknown, a review of available evidence suggests that restricting such questions too narrowly in terms of time and place proves highly problematic.

NOTES

1. I am most pleased to acknowledge here my esteem for John Camp, his work, and his generous contributions to numerous fields of study.

Over the last several years John McK. Camp II and Molly Richardson have regularly accompanied me on exploration of Attica's borders; their company and conversation have aided these investigations greatly. I am most grateful to Leda Costaki for helping me obtain Greek military maps.

2. The site does not appear in the *Karten von Attika* (ed. Ernst Curtius and Johann A. Kaupert, 9 vols. [Berlin: D. Reimer, 1881–1900]). To my knowledge, the published topographical works of Ober, Munn, Legon, Müller, and van de Maele do not mention the site. Smith, who has written gazetteer of the recognized ancient Megarian sites (from the Neolithic through the Late Roman periods), does not list it among the forty-seven known places: see Philip J. Smith, *The Archaeology and Epigraphy of Hellenistic and Roman Megaris, Greece* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2008), 11–73, nor do Michael Sakellariou and Nikolaos Pharaklas, Μεγαρίς, Αἰγόσθενα, Ἐρένεια (Athens: Athēnaiko Kentro Oikistikēs, 1972). The recent work of Baziotopoulou-Valavani lists the (previously known) site on Kerata further east and north but not this one: see Efi Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *Μεγαρίς. Τόποι, Μνημεία, Διαδρομές*. (Athens: Ministry of Culture, 2008) 27–29. Neither John McK. Camp II nor Mark Munn knew of the site prior to the time I introduced them to it (personal communication). That said, a bare outline of the north and east walls of the structure are lightly drawn between the kappa and epsilon of the word "Τρικέρατον" within the label "Τρικέρατον Ὄρος" on topographical/contour sheet 6442/5 (ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙ) of the Greek military maps.

3. I visited the site 17 June 2007 in the company of John McK. Camp II. Having left the new national road at the toll station at the toll station just north of Mt. Keraton and working our way west via dirt tracks past Loutsa, we parked our vehicle near Mavrovouni, about 1 kilometer due north of the structure. We reached the summit on foot via the heavily wooded northern slope of Trikeraton after ca. twenty minutes of relatively hard climbing. GPS coordinates taken on at the southwest corner of the structure on the summit are as follows (all measurements using WGS84): 38.041759° (lat.), 23.445252° (long.) = UTM (34 S) 0714580.92 m N, 4213271.04 m E. These remains are easily seen on Google Earth at these coordinates. Though I have not yet returned to the site, it may well be that the switchback dirt road leading toward the summit from the south (coming from the direction of the Megarian plain) provides an easier route to the top of the mount.

4. While I adopt the toponym supplied on the Greek military map, one also encounters the names "Kerata" and "Trikerata."

5. Geoffrey Kron, "Animal Husbandry, Hunting, Fishing, and Fish Production," in *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, ed. John Peter Oleson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 183.

6. This sheepfold I visited can be seen on Google Earth at 38.154427° (lat.), 23.471666° (long.). I visited the site on 13 June 2009.

7. To some degree the size of a fort may be determined by the size of the hill upon which it sits, although this is not the case for Aghios Georgios/Ereneia. For the dimensions of the forts listed here see Josiah Ober, *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404-322 B.C.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 140 (Aphidna), 145 (Phyle), and 171 (Aghios Georgios/Ereneia). Several Athenian forts, including those at Panakton (ca. 170 m x 90 m), the main circuit at Rhamnous (ca. 250 m x 180 m), and Aegosthena (ca. 190 m x 80 m), are somewhat larger (see Josiah Ober, "Thucydides, Pericles, and the Strategy of Defense," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr,* ed. John W. Eadie and Josiah Ober (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 152, 136, and 168, respectively). The Phylla Vrachos barracks building (Building 3) is ca. 112 m x 7 m and sits within a fortified hill ca. 180 m x 50 m: see Effie Sapouna-Sakellarakē, John J. Coulton, and Ingrid R. Metzger, *The Fort at Phylla, Vrachos. Excavations and Researches at a Late Archaic Fort in Central Euboea* (London: British School at Athens, 2002), 1 and 40.

8. In tracing the routes through Megara, Ronald P. Legon, *Megara. The Political History of a Greek City-State to 336 B.C.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 34–37, does not mention this possible path, nor does he discuss either the coastal route or the Kantili pass. Smith, who relies heavily on Legon, also describes the routes between the Megarid and the adjacent territories: see Smith, *Hellenistic and Roman Megaris*, 84–86 (with Figure 44). He also does not mention this track.

9. See Symphorien van de Maele, "An Unreported Ancient Tower on Mount Pateras," *AJA* 85 (1981): 325–327; van de Maele, "Chronique des fuilles. Mont Patéras," *BCH* 105 (1981): 778–782; van de Maele, "Fortifications antiques sur la frontière attico-mégarienne," *Echos Du Monde Classique: Classical Views* 26 (1982): 199–205; van de Maele, "L'Orgas éleusinienne: étude topographique," in *Mélanges Edouard Delebecque*, ed. Christian Froidefond (Aix-en-Provence: Publications Université de Provence, 1983), 419–433; van de Maele, "Prospection archéologique sur la frontière attico-mégarienne," in *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean*

Area, ed. Donald R. Keller and David W. Rupp (Oxford: *BAR* International Series, 1983), 419–433; van de Maele, "La route antique de Megare à Thèbes par le défilé du Kandili," *BCH* 111 (1987): 191–205, and especially van de Maele, "Le réseau mégarien de défense territoriale contre l'attique à l'époque classique (Ve et IVe s. av. J.–C.)," in *Fortificationes Antiquae (Including the Papers of a Conference held at Ottawa University, October 1988)*, ed. van de Maele and John M. Fossey (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1992), 93–107.

10. For a discussion of this region see Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 174–180. Smith briefly details the extensive system of watchtowers and forts in this area of the Megarid: see Smith, *Hellenistic and Roman Megaris*, 89–92 (with Figure 47).

11. Legon, *Megara*, 22, describes Megarian surface layers in ancient times as follows: ". . . most of the Megarid was inhospitable highland—stony, with only a thin soil cover; if any, blanketed with scrub and pine trees."

12. Frederick A. Cooper, "Epaminondas and Greek Fortifications," *AJA* 90 (1986): 195, and Frederick A. Cooper, "The Fortifications of Epaminondas and the Rise of the Monumental Greek City," in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 155–191, are very useful with regard to the construction techniques of various periods and their use in defensive structures. See Rune Frederiksen, *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900-480 B.C.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) for an excellent overview of wall technique and chronology.

13. For speculation regarding the general date of dry, unworked masonry in forts, see James McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1966), 102, and Hans Lauter, "Some Remarks on Fortified Settlements in the Attic Countryside," in *Fortificationes Antiquae (Including the Papers of a Conference held at Ottawa University, October 1988)*, ed. Symphorion van de Maele and John M. Fossey (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1992), 89. Such forts usually embrace extensive interior structures; McCredie notes that these later Hellenistic walls are ca. 2.5 m thick.

14. It is tempting to associate this installation with the yearly raids on Megara at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Also possible is an association with the battles with the Athenians over the sacred *Orgas* in the fourth century, but we have no compelling evidence for such a link. For an overview of these conflicts, see Legon, *Megara*, 228–294; for analysis of epigraphic evidence for the *Orgas*, see Adele C. Scafuro, "IG II^2 204: Boundary Setting and Legal Process in Classical Athens," in *Symposium 1999. Vorträge zur griechischen hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Pazo de Mariñán, La Coruña, 6.-9. September 1999)*, ed. Gerhard Thür and Francisco J. F. Nieto (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 123–143.

15. While McCredie observes that there exists no firm evidence for the use of Attic forts during the Greek War of Independence, he provides a description of the "wall in the Cleft Way" (below Delphi) as a wall known to have come from that period: see McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps*, 94–96. Not a true fort, the wall runs some 700 meters and is 0.9–1.0 m thick (McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps*, 95). Munn hypothesizes that an extension of the Dema Wall may have been made in the modern period: see Mark H. Munn, *The Defense of Attica: The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378-375 B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 202–209. Again, the structure is a wall, not a true fort. Upon a brief look at the

photos provided here, Munn suggested to me that the structure appears similar to that of the Hymettos Camp, described by McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps*, 48–50. I have not visited the Hymettos Camp myself.

16. If we discount any buried portions of a socle, a circuit 0.5 m in height running 336 meters at a width of 1.5 m would require some 252 cubic meters of stone. Using the density of concrete as a back-of-envelope comparandum, the weight of such a structure would approach 756 metric tons (1.67 million pounds). Of course the wall blocks do not join tightly and exactly, so the true weight would be less. Weight aside, the expenditure of time, energy, and funds to build such a structure would be considerable. From the Gospel of Luke we learn that an individual landowner might face great ridicule if he started to build a tower without contemplating the cost first (Luke 14.28–30): τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν θέλων πύργον οἰκοδομῆσαι οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν; ἵνα μήποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες ἄρξωνται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίζειν λέγοντες ὅτι Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐκτελέσαι. ("For who among you in wanting to build a tower does not first sit and reckon up the cost to see if he has enough for its completion? So that all the onlookers in seeing him lay a foundation but not have enough to complete it not begin teasing him and say, 'This man started to build and does not have enough to finish.'")

17. The gate/entrance at east and possible gate/entrance at north may give some clue as to affiliation, but no known sites are immediately accessible in these directions. Satellite photos do show traces of a cluster of ruined structures of some sort in the small valley northwest of this installation; these ruins are visible using Google Earth at 38.047524° (lat) and 23.436248° (long), but I have yet to investigate these traces. Van de Maele's report of Kyparissi demonstrates that this region may still hold other unreported ancient sites: see Symphorien van de Maele, "Kyparissi, hameau antique en Attique du Nord-Ouest," *Echos Du Monde Classique: Classical Views* 30 (1986): 129–135.

18. Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 294. This summary of the thesis of *Fortress Attica* comes not from the book itself, but rather appears in Ober's response to Harding's critique of 1988.

19. Phillip K. Harding, "Athenian Defensive Strategy in the Fourth Century," *Phoenix* 42 (1988): 61–71. For other critiques, see Mark H. Munn, review of *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404-322 B.C.*, by Josiah Ober, *AJA* 90 (1986): 363–365, and Hans Lohmann, review of *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404-322 B.C.*, by Josiah Ober, *Gymnasium* 94 (1987): 270–274.

20. See Josiah Ober, "Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404–322 B.C.: A Reply," *Phoenix* 43 (1989): 294–301, and Phillip K. Harding, "Athenian Defensive Strategy Again," *Phoenix* 44 (1990): 377–380. Ober argues, e.g., that ". . . debate cannot further understanding if those on one side misrepresent the other side's position" (p. 294), whereas Harding asserts, e.g., that his first critique ". . . would have enabled [Ober] to see Athenian defensive strategy in a broader perspective than the one circumscribed by his theory, if he was interested. It is clear that he was not" (p. 380).

21. Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 32.

22. Ibid., 51–53.

23. For these developments, ibid., 32–50.

24. For details regarding the date of the initiation of this program, see ibid., 213; for the date of its completion, see ibid., 218. As noted above, Ober puts the dates of this defensive program between ca. 385 and 340 (ibid., 208), as well as between 404 and 340 (ibid., 8–9).

25. Ibid., 3.

26. While acknowledging the apparent numerical disparity, a friend has observed, "The fourth century might have the fifth outnumbered, but the fifth has the fourth outgunned."

27. Alan H. Sommerstein, "*Nephelokokkygia* and *Gynaikopolis*: Aristophanes' Dream Cities," in *The Imaginary Polis*, ed. Mogens Herman Hansen (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab, 2005), 71.

28. Ober cites *Birds* once in *Fortress Attica* (p. 29, n. 15), where he uses it to show that the *peripoloi* included mounted archers. In *Defense of Attica*, Munn does not cite *Birds*, nor does Graham J. Oliver, *War, Food, and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

29. For the date, which seems uncontroversial, see Aristophanes, *Birds*, ed. Nan Dunbar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1 (date given with only brief discussion) and Aristophanes, *Birds*, ed. Alan H. Sommerstein (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1987), 1 (date given without discussion).

30. Discussion of the Pelargikon (clearly this city is meant to recall Athens) immediately precedes the wall-building (line 832), so the wall is likely close to the bird-city acropolis; line 836 discusses the city's protector-god living "upon the rocks" (ἐπὶ πετρῶν).

31. So Aristophanes, *Birds*, ed. Sommerstein, 253.

32. The invasion occurs "through the gates" (line 1173: διὰ τῶν πυλῶν), and elsewhere we learn that the invader has come "within the wall" (line 1209: εἰς τὸ τειχος). While the city itself is certainly the primary concern, to my mind the countryside would also be implied to an Athenian audience. As noted by Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 223, Arrian describes a mountain gap near Eleutherai as πύλαι which had more than one τεῖχος on the Athenian side of the pass (*Anab.* 1.7.9). We also know that the Athenians considered themselves to have defensive "gates" (πύλαι) in the territory near Marathon: see Angelos P. Matthaiou, "Ἀθηναίοισι τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος (Herod. 6. 108. 1)," in *Herodotus and His World. Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forest*, ed. Peter Derow and Robert Parker (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 190–202. Matthaiou also notes other references to topographical "gates" (πύλαι).

33. All translations are my own.

34. While all these tasks could be urged upon the young man (*neaniskos*) at once, I think it more likely that these injunctions represent a progression in duties or tasks as age increases. This progression (φρούρει, στρατεύου, μισθοφορῶν σαυτὸν τρέφε) anticipates the Athenian age-class activities as described by Teles the Cynic in the third century BCE (Teles 4 περὶ πενίας καὶ πλούτου = Otto Hense, *Teletis Reliquae* [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969], no. 33.3): καὶ παῖς μὲν ὢν ἐπιθυμεῖ ἔφηβος γενέσθαι, ἔφηβος δὲ γενόμενος ζητεῖ πάλιν χλαμύδιον ἀποθέσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἀνδρωθῇ, πάλιν εἰς τὸ γῆρας σπεύδει. νῦν δέ, φησίν,

ἀβίωτος ὁ βίος, στρατεία, λειτουργία, πολιτικὰ πράγματα, σχολάσαι οὐκ ἔστι. πρεσβύτης γέγονε πάλιν ἐπιθυμεῖ τὰ ἐν νεότητι. For Teles, the activities of youth do not include adult army service (στρατεία); see Kevin F. Daly, "Citizens, Soldiers, and Citizen-Soldiers in Attic Garrisons in the Fourth to the Second Centuries BCE" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2001), 300–302.

35. Much has been written on the use of the terms νεανίσκοι and νέοι in the ancient epigraphical and historical descriptions of the ephebeia. A good starting point for discussion of such age terms is Giulia Sacco, "Sui νεανίσκοι dell'età ellenistica," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 107 (1979): 39–49. For a useful catalog of all institutional terms associated with ephebic practices, see Nigel M. Kennell, *Ephebeia. A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Hildesheim: Weidmann 2006). As Sommerstein points out (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 289), the wings, spear, and crest presented to the fledgling should probably respond to the shield, spear, and helmet presented to Athenian war orphans. These comic lines would seem to be the earliest Athenian reference to such a practice.

36. According to a scholiast on Thuc. 4.67, the forts were the special province of the *peripoloi*: περίπολοι: τῶν φυλάκων οἱ μὲν ἱδρυμένοι καλοῦνται, οἱ δὲ περίπολοι, ἱδρυμένοι μὲν οἱ ἀεὶ περικαθεζόμενοι καὶ πολιορκοῦντες, περίπολοι δὲ οἱ περιερχόμενοι καὶ περιπολοῦντες τὰ φρούρια ἐν τῷ φυλάττειν. For discussion of the *peripoloi* in general (with special attention to their link to *neotatoi*), see Chrysis Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique. Des origins à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1962), 35–49.

37. Thucydides mentions the Syracusan περιπόλια again at 7.48. Apparently the Locrians also had these structures (Thuc. 3.99). After the Athenian seizure of Cythera in 424, the Spartans dispatched guards to their countryside (4.55): κατὰ δὲ τὴν χώραν φρουρὰς διέπεμψαν.

38. For the date, see Mark H. Munn, *The School of History: Athens in the Age of Socrates* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000), 169, and Appendix C.

39. That height provides a view is not at all surprising. Despite the fact that Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 197, appears to attribute the idea of posting scouts on the high spots to Aeneas Tacticus, already in *Clouds* (lines 280–288) we hear of two levels of observation when the chorus moves to the tops of high mountains so as to see the τηλεφανεῖς σκοπίας (conspicuous hilltops) and the sacred land and rivers. While focusing primarily on scouts and scouting, Pritchett also briefly considers lookouts from mountaintops: see W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 127–133.

40. Ober, "Thucydides, Pericles," 176. Ober appears to anticipate this study in *Fortress Attica*, 194–195 and n. 10).

41. Ibid., 177.

42. See ibid., 180, where he cites Thuc. 3.1.1 (ὡς εἰώθεσαν) and 7.27.5 (ὁσμέραι).

43. Ibid., 180.

44. Ibid., 180.

45. Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 80–81.

46. Ober, "Thucydides, Pericles," 183.

47. Cf. Daly, "Citizens, Soldiers, and Citizen-Soldiers," 12: " . . . it is hard to see how a clear presentation of events at a fort preceded by discussion of general military strategy leaves anything lacking. Further, the implication that Thucydides fails to grasp how the defensive strategy worked, but nonetheless artfully uses Syracuse as an analogy to describe the defensive tactics of the Athenians, proves truly puzzling."

48. Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 65, n. 28.

49. Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 195–199, stresses the importance of signaling to the system he envisions in *Fortress Attica*. Mark H. Munn, "Studies in the Territorial Defense of Fourth Century Athens" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983), 345–354, provides an extremely useful overview of signaling practices.

50. John M. Fossey, *Papers in Boiotian Topography and History* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1990), 72–89. The importance of intervisiblity of Minoan peak sanctuaries has also been recently studied: see Steven Soetens, et al., "GIS Variations on a Cretan Theme: Minoan Peak Sanctuaries," in *Metron. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 9th International Aegean Conference, New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 April 2002* (*Aegaeum* 24), ed. Karen Polinger Foster and Robert Laffineur (Liege: Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique, 2003), 483–488.

51. N. G. L. Hammond, "The Main Road from Boeotia to the Peloponnese through the Northern Megarid," *BSA* 49 (1954): 118 with n. 37, for one, takes the Aeschylean passage seriously enough to detail the contemporary Athenian topography and to suggest the path of a signal light through the outskirts of Megara. For a refutation of Hammond's specific topographical interpretation, see James R. Wiseman, "The Road to Oenoe," *Hesperia* 43 (1974): 541.

52. Hdt. 9.3: πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέϊ δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι τὰς Ἀθήνας.

53. Herodotus, *Histories Book* 9, ed. Michael A. Flower and John Marincola (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 105.

54. It might be inferred from the extended discussion of the Persian road and couriers (Hdt. 8.98) that Herodotus' audience was interested in communication systems.

55. As we shall see, Ober, *Fortress Attica*, also adduces the description of fire signals in *Agamemnon*.

56. See Frank S. Russell, *Information Gathering in Classical Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 145, who cites *Iliad* 18.207–213 and Hdt. 7.183.

57. Thuc. 8.102: οἵ τε φρυκτωροὶ ἐσήμαινον καὶ ἠσθάνοντο τὰ πυρὰ ἐξαίφνης πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ φανέντα, ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἐσπλέουσιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

58. Flower and Marincola in Herodotus, *Histories*, 105, claim that fire signals were only used to send "simple messages over short distances," but it is clear that a network of signal positions could send a message a very long way. How complex those signals could be is less clear. Lohmann is skeptical that signal systems could effectively cover a large amount of ground (greater than ca. 5 km): see Hans Lohmann, "Die Chora Athens im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Festungswesen, Bergbau und Siedlungen," in *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Vollendung oder Verfall einer Verfassungsform? Akten eines Symposiums, 3.–7. August 1992, Bellagio*, ed. Walter Eder (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1995), 518.

59. Daylight is implied by mention of sea battle and a morning meal.

60. Munn, "Studies in Territorial Defense," 89, n. 26, has promised a full study of the use of signal flags. See also Russell, *Information Gathering*, 149 (with n. 41).

61. Cf. A. Trevor Hodge, "Reflections on the Shield at Marathon," *BSA* 96 (2001): 237.

62. See A. Trevor Hodge and Luis A. Losada, "The Time of the Shield Signal at Marathon," *AJA* 74 (1970): 32. Hodge judges a shield signal to have been impossible: see Hodge and Losada "The Time of the Shield Signal," 35, n. 17, and Hodge, "Reflections," 237–259.

63. In his studies (Hodge and Losada, "The Time of the Shield Signal," and Hodge, "Reflections"), Hodge examines the effect the convex and concave sides of an ancient shield would have on transmitted light. He argues that, ". . . a hoplite shield cannot be flashed. It is not a question of shininess. It is the wrong shape, and the known scientific laws of optics confirm that a flash could not be transmitted from it" (Hodge, "Reflections," 237). I cannot speak to the physics of the matter at all, but the evidence from the Alexander Mosaic and Aristophanes—neither citation has been noted by Hodge—suggest that (perhaps only at a short distance) shields could act like mirrors. Or at least that ancients thought they could.

64. Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 197 (with n. 13).

65. Ober notes that Lysias 12.40 (*Against Eratosthenes*) recounts that the Thirty Tyrants had destroyed rural forts (οἵτινες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν φρούρια καθεῖλον) as a means to demolish systematic Athenian defenses (which included the Long Walls). Nonetheless, in an argument too subtle for my taste, he discounts such references (Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 193–194): "A few passages in other authors also suggest that there were forts in Attica during the [Peloponnesian] war; Lysias and Aristophanes, for example, speak of the great evil done by those who would betray a *phrourion*. Lysias (12.40) also says that the Thirty Tyrants destroyed the *phrouria* around Attica. It should be kept in mind, however, that these passages postdate the betrayal of Oinoe in 411. The betrayal of the garrison was proof of the corrupt nature of the oligarchic party; anyone who would betray a fort would betray the city itself. The references to fort-betrayers were political attacks on the oligarchs and do not demonstrate the strategic importance of rural forts during the war."

66. So too with democracy, painting, sculpting, and numerous other fields of endeavor. I am grateful to Mark Shiefsky for pointing out to me the temporal lag between first attested appearance of torsion weapons (ca. 400 BCE) and the theoretical writings describing them of Ctesibius (ca. 280 BCE), whose work is now lost, and Philo of Byzantium (ca. 280–220 BCE).

67. See John J. Coulton, "Euboean Phylla and Greek Barracks," in *Minotaur and Centaur: Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham*, edited by R. D. G. Evely, Irene S. Lemos, and Susan Sherratt (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996), 161–165, and Sapouna-Sakellarakē, Coulton, and Metzger, *Fort at Phylla*, 40–43, 112–116. Building 3 (ca. 120 x 7 m) has been identified as a likely barracks building.

68. See Mark H. Munn, review of *The Fort at Phylla, Vrachos: Excavations and Researches at a Late Archaic Fort in Central Euboea*, edited by Effie Sapouna-Sakellarakē, John J. Coulton, and Ingrid R. Metzger, *BMCR* 2003.10.13.

69. Subsequently, of course, theory and experimentation could lead to enhancements and improvements. For a related view with regard to the development of defensive schemes, see Cooper, "The Fortifications of Epaminondas," 156: "One widely held assumption has been that, over the centuries from the Geometric (eighth century BCE) through the Hellenistic periods (first century BCE), political entities had coherent, stratigraphic policies that led to the planning and construction of fortification walls. I never found this to be the case: Most Greek cities did not begin with fortifications. Rather, rural defenses developed haphazardly as need arose over generations, and these show no similarity of practice. In other words, Greek fortifications were built without an overall plan with the important historical exception of the Boiotian contribution. This exception deserves to be specified: a set of fortifications built between ca. 370 BCE and 338 BCE in Boiotia and Arkadia, and particularly at the new foundation city of Messene."

70. John M. Fossey, "The Development of some Defensive Networks in Eastern Central Greece during the Classical Period," in *Fortificationes Antiquae (Including the Papers of a Conference held at Ottawa University, October 1988)*, ed. Symphorien van de Maele and John M. Fossey (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1992), 128.

71. It is interesting to note that Herodotus tells us that Mardonius, who provides a key description of hoplite battle and the "old way" of thinking (7.9), avoids withdrawing from Attica via a narrow pass where he could easily be attacked and halted by only a few men (9.13). The lessons of Thermopylae likely are meant to be seen in this observation, but it is also telling that the locus of this realization is Attica. Would Herodotus' Athenian audience in the late fifth century have naturally expected it to be hard to enter and leave Attica because of guards at narrow points? If so, Athenians were perhaps already thinking in this (supposedly) "new" way, and they may have applied these thoughts in practice. They may even have applied it as early as the narrative date—if not earlier.

72. Yanis A. Pikoulas, "Traveling by Land in Ancient Greece," in *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece and the Near East*, ed. Colin E. P. Adams and James Roy (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 84–85.

73. Ibid., 84.

74. Ibid., 82.

75. William Cavanaugh, "Recent References to Bronze Age Roads in the Aegean," in *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Keith Branigan (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 180-181, provides a bibliography of Bronze Age roads and road systems.

76. Eugene Vanderpool, "Roads and Forts in Northwestern Attica," *University of California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 11 (1978): 238.

77. Ibid., 239.

78. The cart roads Pikoulas discusses in "Traveling," 82, "have a standard gauge of 1.40 m," with each rut cut ca. 0.05 m to 0.015 m wide. Vanderpool, "Roads and Forts," 230, reports, "Near the center of the road bed at one point are clear marks of wheel ruts 1.50 meters from center to center." Vanderpool's "center to center" measurement and Pikoulas' allowance of as much as ca. 0.05 m of width per rut would suggest that the Oinoe road would fall into Pikoulas' general framework for cart roads.

79. Munn, *Defense of Attica*, 17–25, has discounted the notion that a fort would block or command a road, but to my mind Thucydides' description of Macedonian rural forts and roads (2.100) makes the link between road building and fortification clear.

80. Mark H. Munn, "Thucydides on Plataea, the Beginning of the Peloponnesian War, and the 'Attic Question,'" in *Oikistes. Studies in Constitutions, Colonies, and Military Power in the Ancient World Offered in Honor of A.J. Graham*, ed. Vanessa B. Gorman and Eric W. Robinson (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), 245–269.

81. Ibid., 248–249.

82. Ibid., with reference to his n. 9 in the ellipse.

83. For a discussion of Plataea's status, see ibid., 254–258.

84. For a discussion of Oinoe's status, see ibid., 249–254.

85. Ibid., 250.

86. Munn links the "Attic War," the war of 431 (so termed by Thucydides), as, in part, an attempt "to settle conflicting views of what constituted 'Attica'" (ibid., 249).

87. I have discussed these points elsewhere: Daly, "Citizens, Soldiers, and Citizen-Soldiers," 7–8.

88. On occasion "traditional" borders could be changed at an instant. Plutarch (*Vit. Arist.* 11) recounts the story of a Delphic oracle delivered to the Greeks before the battle of Plataea. Advised to "face the danger on their own land on the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore" (τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν γᾷ ἰδίᾳ ποιουμένους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τᾶς Δάματρος τᾶς Ἐλευσινίας καὶ τᾶς Κόρας), Aristides is perplexed, since the oracle "called them back to Attica" (πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνεκαλεῖτο). However, after being shown an early (and abandoned) shrine of Eleusinian Demeter on Kithaeron, and after the Plataeans remove their *horoi* so as to make their own territory Attic, the Athenians joined the battle ranks. Taken at its face, this tale suggests that there was an intelligible "common sense" difference between Attica and Plataea in 479. On the other hand, it also shows that the boundary of Attica and Plataea were coterminous and subject to quick (and heroic) change. John McK. Camp II, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 301–303, has speculated that at Rhamnous worship of the healing heroes Aristomachos and Amphiaraos might have alternated in intensity as the borderlands of the Oropia shifted hands. On 303, he observes, "It may be that the emphasis on Amphiaraos at certain periods reflects the degree of Athenian control over his more famous sanctuary at Oropos, immediately to the north." It also may be that the site of the forgotten shrine of Eleusinian Demeter on Kithaeron marks a similar cultic claim. That is, political ambitions in border territories might have been enhanced or established by the foundation of a shrine: Athens could have been extending its claim by moving Demeter's worship north, or the Plataeans/Boeotians could have been making a claim to the traditional shrine of Eleusis to the south. In either case, it is worth noting that the Demeter named in Plutarch is specific: she is "Eleusinian" and tied directly to the plain of Eleusis.

89. For the specific date, see Walter W. How and Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), *ad loc.*; cf. Thuc. 3.55, 3.68.

90. The exact meaning of this phrase is problematic: see Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991-2008), 449–450.

91. Mark H. Munn, "New Light on Panakton and the Attic-Boiotian Frontier," in *BOIOTIKA. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr. Siegfried Lauffer* (*Münchener Arbeiten zur alten Geschichte* 2), ed. Hartmut Beister and John Buckler (Munich: Ed. Maris, 1989), 231. As anyone driving south from Thebes via the old road will note, a sign there declares that even today Plataea falls within the *nome* of Attica.

92. The archonship of Timarchides is placed in 447/6 (see *LGPN* 2, Τιμαρχίδες 1; *PA* 13615).

93. Pritchett, among others, would generally discount Diodorus' reliability: see W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Thucydides' Pentekontaetia and Other Essays* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1995), 60 and 160; cf. Antony Andrewes, "Ephoros and Diodoros: One Source of Misunderstanding," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr,* ed. John William Eadie and Josiah Ober (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 189–197. On the other hand, while some might dismiss the evidence of Diodorus out of hand for being "late" or "sloppy," Peter Green, *Diodorus Siculus, Books 11–12.37.1. Greek History 480–431 B.C.—The Alternative Version* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 29, has useful observations in this regard: "Once we concede that [Diodorus] had, at the very least, a rational mind and some talent for historiographical synthesis, our whole approach to the various errors discernible in his text undergoes a fundamental change. We can no longer ascribe them all, contemptuously, to the vacillations of a mindless scribbler; they need to be explained on a rational basis. The possibility must be faced that Diodorus actually read the sources he mentions, and perhaps others that he does not, and based his own narrative on critical assessment of their findings."

94. Herodotus asserts (in the voice of Athenian envoys to Sparta) that the Thriasian plain was the best place in Attic territory for battle (9.7β.2): τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον.

95. Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 192–193 (with n. 4).

96. Daly, "Citizens, Soldiers, and Citizen-Soldiers," 20–21; Munn, "Thucydides on Plataea," 247–248.

97. For a tally of other invasions missed (or excluded) by Herodotus' figure, see the commentaries of Reginald W. Macan, in Herodotus, *Herodotus, the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books,* 2 vols., ed. Reginald W. Macan (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895); and How and Wells, *Herodotus*, 5.76.

98. Munn, *Defense of Attica*, 19, observes that, "No fortified circuit held by a regular garrison is ever said to have been an obstacle to an invading army." The absence of evidence is striking, but to my mind the fact that a number of invasions appear to have stopped or delayed in the territory of Eleusis indicates some hesitancy for invaders to proceed; see also Lauter, "Some Remarks," 78. When the oligarchic forces of Athens halted their advance on Phyle in 404 and turned around, Xenophon reports (*Hell.* 2.4.2) that the baggage train was attacked by the forces at Phyle. Perhaps not surprisingly, Frederick E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 44, considers the practice of leaving an enemy fortification at an invading force's rear very risky to those invaders.

99. John Travlos, "The Topography of Eleusis," *Hesperia* 18 (1949): 138.

100. Lauter, "Some Remarks," 78. Lauter goes on to opine (p. 78), "It is interesting in this context to note that Eleusis is not mentioned as an object of enemy operations, for example during the Peloponnesian War; perhaps it was not merely its religious status which saved it from being attacked."

101. John McK. Camp II, "Notes on the Towers and Borders of Classical Boiotia," *AJA* 95 (1991): 201.

102. Munn, "New Light on Panakton."

103. Panakton's fifth-century importance is stressed in Harding, "Athenian Defensive Strategy," 62–63.

104. Oliver, *War, Food, and Politics*, 144.

105. Ibid., n. 22.

106. Ibid., 158.

107. Among other important indications listed, Strabo includes the stele at the Isthmus that announced the boundary between Ionia and the Peloponnese (9.1.6).

108. We may note here that poetry was often the vehicle of traditions as it pertains to contemplating borders. Strabo reports (9.1.10) that the Athenians and Megarians traded lines from Homer (some improvised by the Megarians as parody) to justify claims to Salamis.

109. At 9.1.6, Strabo notes that Atthidographers were in disagreement as to whether Eleusis or Megara should be considered the real limit of Attica, and he cites the Sophocles fragment discussed in *TrGF*, no. 24, to put the matter to rest.

110. Although book divisions in ancient works may say more about later textual traditions than authorial intent, the Megarid falls within Pausanias' Attic book (Book 1). One wonders whether Travlos was following this ancient notion of territory when he includes Megara in his description of Attica: see John Travlos, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988).

111. It also may be relevant that when the Athenians appeal to the Spartans for aid following Mardonius' invasion of Attica (Hdt. 9.7.1), they are accompanied by messengers from Plataea and Megara.

112. A few chapters later Thucydides notes (1.105) that in ca. 458 (?) the general who led "the youngest and oldest" on a mission out of Attica and into Megara to face the Corinthians was Myronides. After an initial skirmish Myronides leads the men out of Megara (ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων), and the Athenians soundly defeat their foes. Thucydides recounts two chapters later that the Athenians began building the Athenian Long Walls (1.107). We next learn that Myronides was also the victor at Oeonphyta (1.108), the battle that gave Athenians some control over Boeotia and Phocis (μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος). After this victory the Athenians demolished the walls of Tanagra and finished their own Long Walls (1.108). Myronides seems to be everywhere ca. 457, and his name is often mentioned in the same breath as fortification. At this time Athens received Long Walls, as did Megara, while Tanagra lost its defenses. Might Myronides be a name to associate with aggressive Athenian fort building tied to expansion? If Munn is correct that Plataea was once considered an Attic deme, might its fortification belong to this same period?

113. Might a myth attesting to earlier Athenian rights to the spot have given his plea special purchase?

114. Victor David Hanson, *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War* (New York: Random House, 2005), 26; cited by David H. Conwell, *Connecting a City to the Sea: The History of the Athenian Long Walls* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008), xi.

115. To my knowledge the text first appeared in print in James Whitley, "Archaeology in Greece 2004–2005," *Arächaeological Reports* 51 (2005): 46. Whitley reports a summary of excavations near Thebes as provided by Aravantinos. See also Peter M. Krentz, "The Oath of Marathon, Not Plataia?" *Hesperia* 76 (2007): 738, n. 18), who reports, "A fuller publication is expected to appear in the proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy held in Barcelona in 2002." For the formal *editio princeps*, see Vassilis L. Aravantinos, "A New Inscribed Kioniskos from Thebes," *BSA* 101 (2006): 369–377; *SEG* 56:521. For earlier discussion of the find, and some preliminary readings, see *SEG* 54:518.

116. As cited by Krentz, "The Oath of Marathon," 738; Kurt A. Raaflaub, *The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 117, would date the text to the expulsion of the cleruchs.

117. Sapouna-Sakellarakē, Coulton, and Metzger, *The Fort at Phylla,* 111.

118. Ibid., 112.

119. Ibid., 113.

120. Ibid., 114.

121. Ibid., 114.

122. Ibid., 115. As the evidence from Megara makes clear, Athenians could build on others' homeland. One wonders if the Athenians serving on or near the Megarian Long Walls would have brought along pottery from Athens or used local ware.

123. Ibid., 115.

124. Lysias 34.3 provides evidence that Athenians were allowed to intermarry with Euboeans at some point before 405. R. K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 24–25, who links this right of marriage to a drop in Athenian population at the end of the Peloponnesian War, points out that the acceptability of this practice was no doubt enhanced by strong Athenian ties to Euboea: "The Athenians had long had close ties with the Euboians, and the recognition of children of an Athenian father and a Euboian mother as Athenian citizens was therefore more easily accomplished." Certainly the drop in manpower following the disaster in Sicily appears to have engendered extraordinary mechanisms to increase population. Most notably, Athenian men were allowed to father legitimate children by Athenian women other than their wives: see Alick R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968-1971), 16–17. If Sinclair is right that the measure allowing an Athenian man to marry a Euboean woman came after the Peloponnesian War, there would seem to be something approaching an equivalency (at least in the case of women) between "Euboean" and "Athenian" in this period. Perhaps myth and memory of actual land tenure in Euboea helped facilitate such a view.

3

Securing the Sacred: The Accessibility and Control of Attic Sanctuaries

Laura Gawlinski

Greek sanctuaries were not open to all people all the time.[1] We know from numerous inscribed purity regulations that access could be restricted on the basis of sex, ethnicity, or temporary personal circumstances like pregnancy or a death in the family. Objects that people regularly wore, carried, or even offered to the gods, from transparent clothes to goats, could be banned in particular instances.[2] In addition, because sanctuaries in general and temples in particular were typically full of votive offerings and moveable wealth, liable to theft or wartime plunder, these spaces also had a responsibility to ensure that what was already there stayed there.[3] Greek law showed concern for this property of the gods by branding certain crimes *asebeia* (impiety) or more specifically *hierosylia* (stealing of sacred property), and temple robbers could be left unburied as punishment.[4]

What has received less attention than the objects of these restrictions and laws, however, is precisely how sacred spaces were equipped with the means to achieve the twin goals of maintaining purity and safeguarding property. The following exploration of the sanctuaries of Athens and Attica reveals that the responses to these concerns ranged from architectural precautions such as walls or lockable entrances, to human actions in the form of temple attendants managing visitors, or independent citizens acting as witnesses against criminals. Significantly, the Athenians did not take exceptional measures to protect sacred objects and sites; both the structures and procedures used were the same as those available in secular contexts—characteristic for a culture in which religion was completely "embedded."[5] Furthermore, these measures were not applied

evenly; sanctuaries were protected differently based on their location and function, and within a single space, structures like temples and treasuries received extra protection. Very few sanctuaries were surrounded by fortification walls, and those that were owed their heavy walls to historical and geographical circumstances rather than their sacred nature. In fact, their sacred nature was what kept sanctuaries from needing defensive fortifications, because at least in the Archaic and Classical periods, respect was shown towards sacred space during war. Architecture was not the only safeguard available; a variety of sacred and civic officials were given the responsibility to maintain a secure space and the authority to punish offenders, and if the laws of man were not enough, the Greeks' behavior could also be checked by a fear of divine retribution. The conclusions reached from this limited regional survey can provide a foundation for examining similar matters of security and the sacred in the broader Greek world.[6]

MARKING AND USING SACRED SPACE

A sanctuary was partially defined by the fact that it was separated; the Greek *temenos* derives from the verb *temno*, meaning "to cut."[7] Although a *temenos* could be fitted with a temple to house a cult statue and any number of subsidiary buildings like stoas, treasuries, and dining rooms, in its most basic form, a sanctuary was made up simply of demarcated space and an altar. This demarcation could take a number of forms, from inscribed boundary markers to high walls with lockable, decorated *propyla* for entrances. Built enclosures were fairly common, but boundaries were often more symbolic than structural. They did not have to be physical, impenetrable walls, as there were other ways to mark a space as sacred. In his discussion of purification as "a science of division," Parker notes the use of lustral basins at the edges of sacred space; their dual purpose was both to mark a place as sacred and to enable someone to become pure before entering.[8] In the opening of Sophocles' *Oedipus at Kolonos* (lines 1–20), Antigone describes an unmarked grove and the process through which she (and the audience) comes to recognize its sacred nature, showing the often simple means by which sacred space could announce itself to a visitor.[9]

The purpose of the demarcation, however it was made, was to warn individuals of a physical change from secular to sacred space, because what was allowed on the outside was not necessarily allowed on the inside. Some sanctuaries were not meant to be used by people at all, at least not regularly. Boundary markers proclaiming these *abata*, not to be entered, were set up at them, such as at the precincts of Zeus Kataibatos on the

Athenian Acropolis (*IG* 2^2.4964; 400–350 BCE) and the Tritopatores in the Kerameikos (*IG* 1^3.1066; 445–410 BCE). According to Sophocles, entrance into the sanctuary of the Eumenides at Kolonos was likewise forbidden (οὐχ ἁγνὸν πατεῖν, line 36; ἄθικτος οὐδ' οἰκητός, line 39). Most sacred spaces, however, normally were meant to be used by worshippers, and the result was often a conflict of needs: how can a sacred space remain pure when so much of what humans do is polluting?[10] To lessen the impact, regulations were enacted to protect sanctuaries from damage, and it was expected that visitors would modify their behavior accordingly.[11] The reaction to the Athenian occupation of the sanctuary at Delion (Thuc. 4.97–4.98) articulates this Greek ideal of changed behavior within sacred space. In this case, the Boiotians particularly chastised the Athenians for performing everyday activities within the sanctuary (ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἐν βεβήλῳ δρῶσι πάντα γίγνεσθαι αὐτόθι, Thuc. 4.97.3) and for using sacred water for non-ritual purposes. Although the Athenians countered that the institution of supplication proves that the gods agree that many things are acceptable under the yoke of necessity, their mistreatment of sacred space was deemed as horrific as leaving the dead unburied.[12]

FORTIFIED SANCTUARIES

The most intensive, forceful marker one could find around a sacred site was a fortification wall, all the more striking because so very few sites had them. The only three fortified sanctuary sites in Attica were the Athenian Acropolis, the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis, and the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion. I will show that these walls were built not to preserve the sacredness of these sites or to protect the possessions of the gods, but instead were related to their strategic value or situation.

The Athenian Acropolis offers the most useful information about the security of sanctuaries as a result of its surviving remains and the abundant literary and epigraphic testimonia related to the site.[13] High walls surrounded the Acropolis from the Mycenaean period, and these fortifications included an imposing, regulated entrance at the citadel's west end, the very spot where the entrance remained throughout the site's history.[14] The original function of these walls was undoubtedly defensive and not religious, for nothing suggests that the site served as a sanctuary at this early date. Only well after the Bronze Age did the citadel come to be used as a sanctuary. Although there is strong evidence for cult activity in the Geometric period (mid-eighth) in the form of votive material, it was in the second quarter of the sixth century that the use of the Acropolis as a sanctuary intensified.[15] Vanderpool saw evidence for this Archaic transformation in the buildings on the Acropolis represented by

the H-architecture, the Moschophoros and other votives, and an approach that was more easily accessible than its strikingly militaristic earlier Mycenaean entrance.[16]

The perimeter structures of the Acropolis were modified and augmented over time and formed a significant part of the changing meanings of the site. After the Persian Wars, the circuit walls were eventually strengthened using destruction debris; they became not just a functional construction but also a lasting monument to the impiety of the barbarian. In addition, because enclosing walls require an entrance that can be regulated, the main entrance, first found on the west side in the Mycenaean period, was monumentalized in the Archaic period into a *propylon*.[17] It was then completely restructured as part of the Periklean building program as the Propylaia.[18] Each of its five entrances had lockable doors or grilles, and the ability to lock this structure plays a role in the women's occupation of the Acropolis in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (lines 244–251, 263–265). The historical context of this literary reference (the Peloponnesian War) could perhaps reflect a greater awareness of or reliance upon the security features of the Acropolis during dangerous times. Even more dangerous times lay ahead, and the Golden Age was not the end of the dependence on these fortifications.[19]

Despite the newer additions made to the Acropolis walls and entrance, the Mycenaean fortification walls continued to be visible and functional, and the overall look of the Acropolis remained defensive. Later construction continued to emphasize that martial appearance, such as additions made to the Nike bastion.[20] That the fortifications of the Acropolis were not simply for appearances is shown by the historical seizures of the site by Kylon (Thuc. 1.126; Hdt. 5.71; Plut., *Vit. Sol.* 12) and Aristion (App., *Mith.* 39; Paus. 1.20.7), as well as the literary takeover by Lysistrata; when the site fell under the control of those who wanted to use it as a stronghold, it was not difficult for them to do so. Likewise, the oracle of the wooden walls delivered to Themistokles was thought by many who heard it to refer to an early enclosure around the Acropolis (Hdt. 7.141–143); they believed this enclosure could save them.[21] The Acropolis, although sacred, could not divorce itself from its secular origins; as Hurwit succinctly explains, "One of the legacies of geology, which drove the rock above the center of a large plain and gave it its sheer sides, and of the Mycenaean period, which left behind those great Cyclopean walls, was that the Acropolis could never not be a place of defense or military value."[22]

The reasons for maintaining the heavy walls enclosing the Acropolis even when it was fully transformed into a sanctuary may seem obvious at first. The site housed a great deal of wealth; treasury records and even the Athenian tribute lists make it clear that the volume of dedications

and money in this sanctuary surpassed the average.[23] This was the place where the funds of the allies of Athens were kept for a time, and even Athena herself was clothed in a garment that was a valuable commodity. The besiegers of the Acropolis in the *Lysistrata*, for example, explain that they took over the site in order to protect the treasury (lines 486–497). That the theft of what belonged to the goddess was an ongoing concern is revealed by construction planned in *IG* 1^3.45 to keep out robbers and runaways (lines 4–6; see below). Even so, we must keep in mind that the Acropolis walls go back to the Bronze Age; they did not originate with the use of the site as a sanctuary. The sacred rock had a long history as a walled, secured stronghold. The strength of the site led to its use as a place to store valuables; the valuables kept in the site did not lead to it being fortified.

The fortification walls surrounding the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis served a function similar to that of the Acropolis walls.[24] Unlike the Acropolis, none of the preserved defensive structures here date to the Bronze Age.[25] Although the sanctuary did have smaller, less substantial *periboloi* during the Iron Age, the first identifiable phase of its fortification walls is Archaic, usually associated with the tyrant Peisistratos.[26] What is significant about these walls is that they surround not just the sanctuary, but the entire course of the acropolis.[27] That is, protection of the sanctuary was a part of an overall project to protect the acropolis and settlement. This fortification has been associated with an attempt to strengthen Athenian defense in an area where there were important routes both to the Peloponnese and Northern Greece, perhaps at a period of potential unrest at the borders of Attica.[28]

The fortifications at Eleusis, like those surrounding the Acropolis, remained in place throughout the sanctuary's history, though also not without modifications. Probably in association with the Periklean building program, the Telesterion and its platform were expanded, an addition that necessitated the expansion of the fortification walls.[29] Around the same time, several granaries to hold the first fruit offerings coming in from Attica and the allies were erected, and this new stretch of wall served to protect these too.[30]

Because the cult at Eleusis was a mystery cult, a reason for the walls has been sought in the secretive nature of the activities in the sanctuary.[31] Here again, however, the architectural history of the fortifications must be taken into account. The walls were built to secure a large portion of the settlement, and although the sanctuary was included, it was not the primary focus. This site, like the Acropolis, was also associated with military strength. Even though the walls and their gates did serve to regulate entrance and even visibility into the sanctuary, that was not their original function.[32]

The third fortified sanctuary in Attica is that of Poseidon at Sounion.[33] The Temple of Poseidon as it stands today probably dates to ca. 440 BCE. According to Thucydides, the first fortification of the site occurred a couple decades later in 413/2 BCE, during the Dekelean War (Thuc. 8.4). Most scholars associate the fortification with the suitability of the site as a lookout over sea routes and the association of those routes with the grain trade.[34] The fortification did enclose the sanctuary within it, but like Eleusis, it must be emphasized that although this provided protection for the sanctuary, it was linked to protection and fortification of the site as a whole, and not something specially intended for Poseidon.

This review of the only three fortified sanctuaries in Attica—the Athenian Acropolis, Eleusis, and Sounion—demonstrates that the building of fortifications around a sacred space was not intrinsically related to the sacredness of that space. Fortifications, like other physical features of sanctuaries, must be read within the overall architectural history of the site. In all three cases, the walls originate in militarily defensive purposes, and all three are important in Athenian military history, not just its religious history.[35] These sites confirm that although fortification walls could come to be a part of the security of some sanctuaries, when the Athenians founded sanctuaries, they did not immediately fortify them.

THE THREAT OF WAR

Although the original purpose of the fortifications of the Athenian Acropolis, Eleusis, and the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion had little or nothing to do with the sacred nature of those sites, nonetheless, the walls were capable of providing effective protection. When Philip V invaded Attica in 200 BCE, he targeted rural sanctuaries. According to Livy, the destruction was taken to such an extreme that Philip even had his soldiers destroy temple blocks to prevent the Athenians from using the ruins to rebuild (Livy 31.26.9–13).[36] This destruction has been identified in the archaeological record in the form of fragments from several rural temples, including the temple of Athena at Sounion, which found their way into the Athenian Agora.[37] Unlike the Poseidon sanctuary at Sounion, enclosed within the walls that protected the fort, the sanctuary to Athena was outside those walls and unprotected. Similarly, the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, which stood outside the fortifications of that site, was also heavily damaged.[38] The absence of physical protection could be devastating for a sanctuary.

Although fortifications could protect during wartime, war was not a factor in the intentions behind sanctuary security. Generally, sacred space and objects were safe during war between Greeks.[39] The Persians of course

did damage sacred spaces and buildings during their invasions, but the Greeks seem to have considered that an extraordinary case, a function of their barbarous nature.[40] The only reference in Thucydides to the pillaging of temples during the Peloponnesian War also concerns barbarians, the sacking of temples by Thracians in an attack on Boiotia (7.29.3–5).[41] When Greeks fought Greeks, however, the expectations for how warfare might affect sacred spaces and objects were different. For example, Hanson has argued that even during the prolonged fighting with the Spartans, the sacred olive trees of Athens remained fairly unscathed.[42] It is true, however, that the misappropriation of sanctuary resources could and did occur under the pressures of war, such as in the Delion incident quoted above (Thuc. 4.97–4.98). Sacred space could be annexed under pressure, as when the influx of refugees into the city center during the Peloponnesian War caused any available space to be inhabited, even sanctuaries (Thuc. 2.17).[43] Still other troubles are mentioned by Thucydides, including encroachment on sacred lands (e.g., Thuc. 1.139.2, an accusation against the Megarians) and bloodshed spilling over into sacred spaces (e.g., Thuc. 3.81.5, suicide in a sanctuary during the Corcyran revolt). These types of problems can be defined as a misuse of space, which do not show the premeditated destruction inherent in looting or demolition. The treatment of sacred space was not always perfect, and violations did occur.[44] However, plunder and outright destruction were rare—at least in the Archaic and Classical periods.[45] It is important to distinguish between types of violations because the security methods required to prevent each type should be different; certainly the prevention of destruction would have required stronger measures, such as fortifications.[46]

Full-scale looting of sanctuaries did not become a serious problem until the end of the fourth century BCE, and its frequency increased so that it became fairly commonplace by the first century BCE.[47] Both Pritchett and Miles note that when sanctuaries eventually were sacked, the records of booty obtained testified to how safely the materials had been stored up to that point.[48] The Hellenistic period can be seen as a turning point for the worse for the treatment of sacred space during occupations and war when "conquering generals took on the ancient Near Eastern view and seized whatever they wanted when they sacked a city or sanctuary."[49] The Hellenistic rulers used the treasures of the Acropolis as their own in a way not seen previously. Demetrios Poliorketes lived in temples, including the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon, where he supposedly soiled the holy spaces with his outrageous behavior (Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 23.3).[50] Lachares stole from Athens and its sanctuaries so flagrantly that it was later claimed that he took the gold clothes off Athena herself (Paus. 1.25.7).[51] The invasion by Philip V went beyond looting to include the destruction of temples, as cited above. Continued Roman incursions into

Greece brought more looting and destruction; the most extreme instance that affected Athens was the invasion of Sulla.[52] His siege in 86 BCE included all levels of violation of sacred space, beginning with the use of the Acropolis as a fortress by the opposing Athenian leader Aristion.[53] Damage was done to the Asklepeion and the theater of Dionysos, and it is possible that some damage identified on the Erechtheion also should be associated with Sulla.[54] The siege involved looting from all kinds of space, sacred and not, and even the burning of the Piraeus.[55] Sulla plundered temples and sanctuaries, removing timber from sacred groves and money from the treasuries (Plut., *Vit. Sull*. 12.3–9), and after the capture of the city, he took gold from the Acropolis (App., *Mith*. 39).

Most of the sanctuaries of Attica, especially those with fortifications, were founded well before this period of frequent destruction, so their strong walls have nothing to do with fear of major military threats. Those like the sanctuary of Poseidon that happened to have been secured earlier stood relatively unscathed, but others did not fare so well, and it should be no surprise that by the late first century BCE there was a necessary reconstruction and revival of the sanctuaries throughout Attica.[56] It is notable that the main response to instances of sacking and looting was outrage expressed in our written sources; that the Athenians did not set out to fortify their sanctuaries when the rules of warfare changed and put them in danger supports the argument that fortified sanctuaries were a product of practice rather than design.[57]

OTHER BOUNDARIES

Although the sanctuaries of Attica were not built with a mind towards protecting them from wartime sieges and plundering, most were still concerned with the basic goals of keeping impurity out and property in; this kind of security did not require fortification walls like those of the Acropolis. For example, when Thucydides discusses the problems that arose when everyone crowded inside the city in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, he points out that people even lived in sacred sites, with a few notable exceptions—the Acropolis, Eleusinion, and whatever else was securely closed (εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν, 2.17).[58] Today the scanty remains of the *peribolos* wall of the Eleusinion, especially when compared with the fortifications of the Acropolis with which it is mentioned, can easily mislead one to assume the site was fairly weak. But in addition to the evidence from Thucydides about the ability to close the site, we also know from an inscription listing building materials for the sanctuary that it had doors.[59] This site shows that even an unassuming sanctuary could have had a greater capacity for securing itself than one

might expect. The Eleusinion stayed free of squatters and protected the treasures of the Goddesses when the city came under pressure and religious scruples were secondary to finding shelter. It is also important to note, however, Thucydides' implication that not every site could do this further shows that boundaries and their strength varied widely.

Boundaries, whether they have lasted in the archaeological record or not, were important for all sites, even the unfortified ones, because they firmly announced the change from secular to sacred.[60] Five inscribed regulations from Attica reveal the concern with setting boundaries and erecting markers, some of which identify those officials responsible for fixing and policing them. One space about which the Athenians were particularly anxious was the area they referred to as the Pelargikon or Pelasgian; Thucydides, for example, notes the possible relationships between the use of that space during the war and oracular warnings sent about it (Thuc. 2.17.1–2).[61] The Eleusinian first fruits decree concludes with an amendment passed by Lampon that relates to ongoing concerns with this space.[62] The *archon basileus* is to mark the boundaries of the sanctuaries inside (τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα ὁρίσαι τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ο]ι Πελαργικοι, lines 54–55); from then on, no one would be allowed to set up any altars without the permission of the *boule* and *demos*, and no stones could be cut or carried away from the space. Such specific references to these problems with altars and materials could mean that this law was passed in response to actual occurrences; the clear delineation of boundaries was viewed as at least the first step to making them stop. Authority is given to the *basileus* here, the *archon* with whom religious matters lay, not just for making the boundaries, but also for bringing the offender to the attention of the *boule* (lines 58–59).[63] A second inscription outlines similar concerns with the sanctuary of Kodros, Neleos, and Basile (*IG* 1^3.84; *LSCG* 14; 418/7 BCE).[64] This decree records the terms for leasing the sanctuary. Again the *basileus* has an important role, both in the leasing (lines 6–7, 11–12) and also in sending official boundary-makers to set new limits (τὸς ὁριστὰς ἐπιπέμφσαι ὁρίσαι τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα, line 7). A decree concerning the boundaries of the Eleusinian Sacred *Orgas*[65] arranges for consulting the Delphic oracle about whether a portion of the *orgas* should be leased again; it cites the *basileus* as the one who would do so (lines 25–28).[66]

Authority over the boundaries of local sacred spaces that were not controlled by the city was instead held by polis subgroups, for example, the *genos* of the Salaminioi. One pertinent inscription records the outcome of a dispute among several branches of the *genos*.[67] In it, the opposing parties resolve how they will share everything: priesthoods (lines 8–16), sacrifices (lines 19–27), costs of maintenance in shrines (lines 54–56), and rental income from leased land (lines 58–61). They notably divide their land as well, with each party setting up their own *horos* (lines 16–19). Disputes

continued, however, the divided *genos* became separate *gene*, and another inscription was erected in ca. 265/4 BCE dealing with many of the same problems of divisions, this time focused on a precinct of Herakles (*Agora* 19:177–178, no. L4b). In that text, the Salaminioi decree to make a portion of the precinct sacred, and physical boundaries like trees, walls, and existing boundary stones are used to define the borders of that portion and keep them unchanged (lines 8–18). As these five decrees demonstrate, boundaries set at sacred sites were tied to questions of authority and ownership as well as appropriate usage.

LEVELS OF SECURITY

In addition to external protection—walls and markers that set off the change from profane to sacred—it is clear that different levels of security operated within a single space. For example, sanctuaries could own sacred land or control an area outside the *temenos*; those spaces were arguably still sacred, but a greater range of activities was allowed in them, and therefore they could be secured and cared for differently.[68] On the other end of the security scale inside a sanctuary, specialized buildings and secured rooms within buildings functioned to increase protection for objects, keeping them safe from both the elements and potential thieves. Treasury buildings, such as the one set up by the Athenians at Delphi, were built to protect offerings, and the use of metal grilles could both safeguard and display the objects at the same time. Temples were not simply the house of the cult statue, but were used as storehouses and thus also secured. It is generally agreed that many temples were opened less frequently than their sanctuaries as a whole, showing that their level of security was higher than the surrounding space.[69] For example, the statue of Dionysos Eleutherios was brought to a temple in the Academy only on fixed days, implying infrequent openings (Paus. 1.29.2), and much is made of the fact that the visit of Attalos to Athens included opening the temples (Polyb. 16.25.3–9). There is substantial evidence that temples were fitted with lockable doors and grilles, and that entrance to a sanctuary did not imply entrance into the temple, especially its innermost areas; the attempt by Kleomenes to enter the temple of Athena is telling in this regard, since Herodotus does not imply he had any problem entering the sanctuary itself (Hdt. 5.72; see below). Even on the Acropolis, with all its perimeter security, there were additional measures taken for the Parthenon and its treasures. Cuttings still remain on columns from the iron grilles that closed off various rooms.[70] Doors, indicating the possibility of closure, are known for other temples and buildings that needed protection too, such as those decreed for the precinct of the temple of Athena

Nike, part of a construction project overseen by Kallikrates (*IG* 1^3.35, lines 6–8; ca. 448 BCE or 425/4).[71] The Eleusinion building inscription noted above mentions at least one door for an interior building where unnamed items were stored (*IG* 2^2.1672, lines 129–134).[72] Mylonopoulos has collected the evidence for temples that featured a barrier built in front of the cult statue, which permitted the viewing of the statue without granting physical access.[73] He argues that such barriers made sense in temples that were otherwise generally open; they served to control ritual access to an interior space, increasing the level of security for that one area in particular.

On an even smaller scale than secured buildings or rooms are the lockable boxes called *thesauroi*. These were used to collect money offerings, usually special fees tied to sacrificial tariffs, incubation, or initiation.[74] Several inscriptions mention their construction and regular opening, and one of the best physical examples was found in Athens in the open-air sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the Acropolis.[75] It is a remarkable work of construction, engineered so that worshippers could deposit their money, which would remain safely in place until the stone box was opened with a key that allowed it to be pulled apart by levers and pulleys.

Both epigraphic and literary sources attest to the various locking mechanisms and keys used in *thesauroi* and buildings, such as the key to the space inside the Parthenon called the Hekatompedon (*IG* 2^2.1424a, lines 386–387; 369/8 BCE), as well as to the officials responsible for opening and closing.[76] The *epistates* of the *prytaneis* held the keys to temples and archives (Arist., [*Ath. Pol.*] 44.1), and terms like *kleidouchos* were used as honorary titles of key-keepers.[77] The right to unlock the locks of sacred buildings and rooms was especially associated with priestesses. The iconographical marker of a priestess was often a set of keys, as evidenced by several Attic funerary reliefs of the fourth century.[78] Keys were a privilege reserved for only one or two officials at a time, limiting the number and type of people who had access to sacred property. This should certainly be tied to the attention to accountability displayed in the records of sanctuary treasuries.

SECURITY OFFICERS

Architectural features were not the only means of security; priests and other officials played a significant role in preserving sacred spaces.[79] Again, the Acropolis provides some of the best information for the range of officials involved in security. The Hekatompedon decree (*IG* 1^3.4; 485/4 BCE) records that certain religious officials were given responsibility for

caring for buildings and controlling various activities on the site. Thus, the *tamiai*, the treasurers of Athena, were required to punish visitors who lit fires or threw out dung in places where that was not allowed (Face B, lines 5–13).[80] Other sources attest to the presence and activities of a number of other priestesses and attendants in various periods.[81] Herodotus tells of the Spartan king Kleomenes' attempt to enter the inner area of the temple of Athena; he was momentarily stopped by a priestess who explained that Dorians could not enter (Hdt. 5.72).[82] Hurwit argues that Pausanias's statement that the *arrhephoroi* lived on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.27.4) implies we should expect other officials to be present regularly, since ". . . the Athenians would [not] have left little girls up there all alone."[83]

In some periods, security measures included other types of security personnel. As the Athenian Empire grew, contributions from the allies allowed Athens to employ various civil servants at public expense, including fifty guards stationed on the Acropolis (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 24.3).[84] In the middle of the fifth century BCE, a decree was passed that arranged for Kallikrates to fix a portion of the defenses to prevent robbers and runaways from getting onto the Acropolis (*IG* 1^3.45).[85] Until the work was complete, three archers were to stand guard (lines 14–16). These archers attract particular interest because one of the concerns of this decree is to prevent the entrance of runaway slaves (δραπέτες, line 4), presumably seeking supplication. Suppliants could be a drain on a sanctuary's resources, and an individual's reason for seeking supplication could put the sanctuary into conflict with secular objectives and officials.[86] This is a strong reminder that protecting sanctuaries was not the same as protecting cities against enemies; sacred space had goals and concerns that could be quite different.

Non-architectural methods also contributed to the security of the unfortified sanctuaries. A vivid example of the regulation of the presence of sanctuary officials comes from a fourth-century inscription from the Amphiareion at Oropos.[87] This law requires that the priest spend a minimum amount of time in residence in the sanctuary, but it is clear he is not always there (ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρεῖ, line 27), and the sacrificial regulations even take into account what a visitor is to do when the priest is not present (lines 27–28). However, the law also mentions a *neokoros*, a temple attendant, over whom the priest has authority, but who presumably would be available when the priest was not (lines 6–8). Although it is the priest who holds the authority to stand in judgment over offenders and fine them (lines 9–17), it is in the presence of the *neokoros* that money offerings must be deposited in the treasury (lines 20–24), and it is the latter who must record the names and records for people coming for incubation (lines 39–43). The site is a healing sanctuary where visitors remain in residence for a period of time, and this factor necessitates stronger regulation

and frequent attention from officials, not just for punishments, but also for record keeping and general administration.

The fact that many sanctuaries received only occasional supervision may be reflected in a second-century decree that records ephebic honors (*IG* 2^2.1006; 122/1 BCE). Among the activities highlighted as praiseworthy is their ephebic patrol (lines 24–26) in which the armed ephebes traversed the countryside and borders, visiting the sanctuaries along the way to offer sacrifice ([παρεγένον]το καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐν οἷς διετέλουν θύοντες καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου, lines 25–26).[88] This ephebic attention to sanctuaries, particularly those sanctuaries with a connection to Attic ancestral heroes, was part of a program to create a patriotic youth corps.[89] As Humphrey states, the ephebes were designed "to serve as an idealized representation of the citizen body while doing their military training," and that representation included participation in public Athenian ritual activity.[90] However, the likelihood that the ephebic patrol was also beneficial to the sanctuaries should not be ignored. The outlying sanctuaries of Attica, especially at the time of the publication of these honors (well into the increasingly destructive Hellenistic period), would have been in need of intermittent, regularized visits to ensure their general well being.

ACCESSIBILITY AND THE LAWS OF MEN AND GODS

In general, most sanctuaries appear to have been easy to access, partly because they often lacked permanent regulatory officials, but even more so because they were intended to be used freely. The family in Menander's *Dyskolos* has no problems entering the sanctuary of Pan for a celebration with all their ritual and dining equipment in tow, and according to Sostratos, his mother is accustomed to doing this frequently, at any of the local shrines (ποεῖ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁσημέραι, περιέρχεται θύουσα τὸν δῆμον κύκλῳ ἅπαντ', lines 261–263). *IG* 2^2.4548 (ca. 400 BCE) records the establishment of a sanctuary in Phaleron by a certain Xenokrateia; although it stands as a private dedication, it is still open to anyone wishing to sacrifice (θύειν τῶι βουλομένωι, line 6)—if they paid a fee, of course (lines 6–7). Even the accusation against Andokides that he placed a suppliant branch at the Eleusinion is predicated on the assumption that he could have gained entrance to do so despite the wall, locks, and legal and moral regulations; the confusion about who actually placed it, furthermore, shows the lack of supervision at a site associated with Mysteries, even during festival time (Andoc., *On the Mysteries*, 110–116).

With such carefree attention to most sacred space, what possibly could have kept people in line? One answer is suggested by the text of a decree

by a priest of a sanctuary of Apollo Erithaseos (*IG* 2^2.1362; *LSCG* 37; end of the fourth century BCE).[91] Its focus is to protect the natural resources of the sanctuary, forbidding the removal of wood or any kind of branches (lines 5–8). The following phrase sets up the punishments: "If anyone is caught cutting or carrying any of the forbidden things out of the sanctuary. . . ," (lines 7–9). The remainder of the document details the system of punishment based on whether someone is free or slave (lines 9–18). Both the priest of the sanctuary and the *basileus* are involved in the punishment; the priest turns over slaves to the *basileus* and the *boule* and reports the name of the master (lines 10–12), and, in the case of free offenders, reports the name of the offender (lines 14–17). Although the responsibility for punishment explicitly lies with the priest and *basileus*, it is notable that the way the offender is discovered is described somewhat vaguely: "if anyone is caught," (ἂν δέ τις ληφθει, line 7). The indefinite nature of both the grammatical subject (expressed) and the agent (implied) points to a reliance on anyone at all who may observe the infraction, including individuals who are not officials. Similar phrasing is found in other laws about sanctuaries, and in some cases it is tied to provisions for splitting punitive fines with an informer, making it even more explicit that there is a dependence on the average dutiful citizen.[92]

Athenian law is rife with examples of prosecutions for harming sacred property or breaking sanctuary regulations that originate from witnesses or private initiative. A similar situation to that at the Apollo sanctuary was in place for the sacred olive trees of Athens, which were formally protected by the Areopagos, who even sent out yearly inspectors. In Lysias 7, a man defends himself from the accusation that he removed one of these sacred olive tree stumps, a *sekos*, from his property.[93] It is clear from the speech, however, that it is not the Areopagos who actively pursued him from the start, but rather a private citizen named Nikomachos who brought it to their attention (Lys. 7.22 and 7.29). The chain of events that led to the trial of Andokides likewise involved passing information: the prosecutor Kephisios put the trial in motion by reporting to the *basileus* that Andokides was attending a festival unlawfully; this led to a report to the *boule* and a court case.[94] Another example of rewards for capturing the guilty appears in a decree passed for informers after the mutilation of the Herms (Thuc. 6.27). These real legal procedures are also reflected in dramatic situations. When Oedipus sought sanctuary at Kolonos, the stranger who met him warned him that he was trespassing on sacred ground (Soph., *OC* 36–37). However, he later says that he may not remove Oedipus himself, but must report him to the city (lines 47–48).[95] While most cases point to a system of informants working with those in authority, there is one instance that points to the possibility that authority could be given directly to an individual citizen. According to a law referred to

in the prosecution against Neaira, adulteresses were banned from public religious events ([Dem.] 59.86). If such a woman was seen in a sanctuary, the one who caught her was given the responsibility of both choosing and carrying out her punishment; only death was not allowed since that would pollute the sanctuary.

The way Athenians handled the breaking of "religious" laws was the same as the way they handled the breaking of any laws.[96] The procedures I have described here are no different from those involved in actions taken against any criminal. There was not an organized police force throughout Attica, and the state did not use attorneys; instead, the Athenian legal system commonly relied on citizens as a part of enforcement.[97] Neither type of Athenian lawsuit, *dike* ("private") or *graphe* ("public"), was brought to trial by a public prosecutor: a *dike* required that the injured party initiate the proceedings, while a *graphe* could be prosecuted by ὁ βουλόμενος—"anyone who wishes." This is not to imply, however, that the ultimate authority always rested on the citizens.[98] In the decree of the priest of Apollo Erithaseos, citizens were relied upon as informants, but, ultimately, the priest and *basileus* meted out punishment. Likewise the *basileus* and *boule* had power over any boundary infractions at the Pelargikon, and the Areopagos watched over each *sekos*. Citizen witnesses and citizen prosecutors had a special role to play in the Athenian legal system and sanctuary security, but that role was often distinctly subordinate.

One final factor in security cannot be ignored, even if it is arguably psychological: the Greek belief in divine intervention and retribution.[99] Herodotus describes two instances during the Persian invasion when Greek sanctuaries were saved by the gods themselves. First, he claims that Apollo protected his own sanctuary at Delphi against the Persians by creating an avalanche (8.36–39).[100] Then he reports that no Persians entered or died in the sanctuary of Demeter at Plataia because the goddess kept them out as revenge for their destruction at Eleusis in Attica (ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας [τὸ ἱρὸν] τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον, 9.65.2). Innumerable stories further relate what happened to a person who harmed a sanctuary or acted unacceptably within a sacred space. The famed Athenian general Miltiades received a leg injury from which he eventually died after entering a sanctuary of Demeter on Paros; Herodotus, who relates the event, was not sure of his intention, but it was certainly not good (Hdt. 6.134–136). In one version of the death of Aristion, Pausanias claims that Sulla removed Aristion from a sanctuary and uses this to explain why Sulla died of a painful disease (Paus. 1.20.7). This belief in divine punishment even entered into the performance of myth onstage: Sophocles's Philoktetes received his snakebite because he profaned sacred space simply by entering the sanctuary of Chryse (Soph. *Phil.* 191–198, 265–267, 1326–1328). For the most part, these were

unsubstantiated tales, and in some cases the supposed transgression was even invented after the fact to explain why misfortune had befallen someone. However, for many Athenians, if not most, the fear of divine wrath was real and must have at least sometimes been compelling. In the *Ploutos* of Aristophanes, two friends see a priest take the cakes left in the sanctuary of Asklepios for himself. When one man decides to follow his example by stealing soup, his friend chides him, asking him if he does not fear the god (lines 654–695, 707–747). Surely some sanctuaries remained without walls at least partially on the basis of hope—hope that Greeks were god-fearing. The Athenian Xenophon makes this explicit in the inscribed stele he sets up in his sanctuary near Olympia, a thanks offering to Ephesian Artemis (Xen. *An.* 5.3.7–13).[101] He outlines the process of offering the dedications required from those using the land, ending with a warning that whoever does not follow these specifications will be taken care of by the goddess (ἂν δὲ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει, 5.3.13). Naiden has recently argued that the lack of sanctions in so many of the so-called sacred laws does not mean they were not thought to have force, stating that ". . . Greek religion is not permissive. There are no black-tie rules, only rules *enforced by god* rather than man, or by some men rather than the community."[102]

CONCLUSION

Sacred space was separated from the secular world. Although that boundary could be traversed, methods were established to lessen the frequency that it would be transgressed. The ways the sanctuaries of Athens and Attica met a variety of security challenges can provide a framework for the responses we should expect to find throughout Greece. In Attica, the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion could take advantage of fortification walls in the face of invasion. Sites without a military connection could rely instead on the presence of a religious official to keep order, and the archon *basileus* took a special interest in the punishment of those who disobeyed the laws enacted to protect those sites. The reasons for guarding a sacred site could be different from the reasons for guarding a city or home; theft was a potential problem, but so were asylum seekers and the official control and account of objects. Valuables could be placed under lock and key, and temples were frequently closed even when the sanctuary itself was not. Because cult practice was communal, the spaces in which its rituals were carried out were likewise communal, and it was the responsibility of members of the community to play a role in guarding them. Although the Athenians should have had fear enough of the gods to keep them from entering places when they should not, or to keep them

from taking expensive offerings for themselves, they also knew that the gods help those who help themselves, and they made it easier for their gods by using walls, locks and officials when necessary.

NOTES

1. It is fitting that I present these thoughts on sacred space to John Camp since I was first introduced to sanctuary restrictions as an undergraduate when he lent me his copy of *LSCG*. For that—and many other gestures of encouragement—I remain grateful.

Credit (but not responsibility) is owed for helping me think through this paper: notes by Jen Palinkas on an early draft, the thoughtful comments of multiple anonymous readers, the careful editing of Kevin Daly, and discussions with John Camp, who (I hope) was unaware of the ultimate place where this would end up.

2. For restrictions on both people and objects, see Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), especially 352–356; Eran Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 14–30; and Matthew P. J. Dillon, "The Ecology of the Greek Sanctuary," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118 (1997): 113–127. Joseph William Hewitt, "The Major Restrictions on Access to Greek Temples," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 40 (1909): 83-91, is outdated, but contains many useful references.

3. This wealth is best illustrated for Athens by the material housed in the Parthenon; see Diane Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); and Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, "The Statue of Athena and Other Treasures in the Parthenon," in *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to Present*, ed. Jenifer Neils (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 261–291.

4. Parker, *Miasma*, 45, discusses evidence for laws concerning temple robbers, citing Diod. Sic. 16.25.2 and 16.35.6, see pages 170–171 on temple robbing in general. See also W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 5 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 161 with note 211, and Margaret M. Miles, *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 31–32. Stephen C. Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 307–311, briefly examines *asebeia* and *hierosylia* and suggests the latter was a subcategory of the former. David Cohen, *Theft in Athenian Law* (Munich: Beck, 1983), 93–95, discusses a number of legal sources to determine whether a formal law of *hierosylia* existed.

5. Jan N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1. W. Robert Connor, "'Sacred' and 'Secular.' Ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια and the Classical Athenian Concept of the State," *Ancient Society* 19 (1988): 161–188, shows that the *polis* concerned itself equally with "secular" and "sacred" matters.

6. I have avoided most references to material outside of Attica in order to bring out possible regional and temporal distinctions. This work is an introductory portion of a larger project I am undertaking in collaboration with Jennifer Palinkas on sanctuary security throughout the Greek world.

7. See Birgitta Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos: A Study of Structure and Function* (Lund: Gleerup, 1967), 5, for further discussion of the definition. John Griffiths Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), offers a useful overview of sacred space.

8. Parker, *Miasma*, 19–20. See further Susan Guettel Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004), 43–47, who notes the widespread use of the vessel and the meaning of the rituals associated with it.

9. Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space*, 40–42.

10. On the problem of human activity in sacred space, see György Németh, "Μεδ' ὄνθον ἐγβαλεῖν: Regulations Concerning Everyday Life in a Greek Temenos," in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence. Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 November 1991*, ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1994): 59-64; and Dillon, "Ecology."

11. For these regulations, see Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, 21–25.

12. See Adriaan Lanni, "The Laws of War in Ancient Greece," *Ancient History Review* 26 (2008): 473, on this incident and its place in Greek rules of war.

13. This evidence has been neatly collected and reviewed by Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 48–57.

14. For an overview of the Mycenaean Acropolis, see Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 71–84, especially 74–77 (on the walls). See also Ione Mylonas Shear, "The Western Approach to the Athenian Akropolis," *JHS* 119 (1999): 86-127; James C. Wright, "The Mycenaean Entrance System at the West End of the Akropolis of Athens," *Hesperia* 63 (1994): 323–360; and Spyros E. Iakovidis, *The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens* (Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens, 2006). Ira S. Mark, *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1993), 12–19, discusses the Mycenaean origins of what would later become the Nike bastion. For a summary of the different forms that have been proposed for the Mycenaean entrance, see Shear, "Western Approach," 86–91.

15. Kevin T. Glowacki, "The Acropolis of Athens before 566 B.C.," in *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, ed. Kim J. Hartswig and Mary C. Sturgeon (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 85. The sacred character of the Iron Age Acropolis is complicated by the presence of Late Geometric "Dipylon style" fragments, more suited to a funerary context. For suggested solutions to this incompatibility (such as their use as offerings for heroes, their presence in secondary archaeological context, or an interpretation of the site as a mixed settlement and sanctuary), see John K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 309–313; Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 89–94; Walter Gauss and Florian Ruppenstein, "Die Athener Akropolis in der frühen Eisenzeit," *AM* 113 (1998): 35–41; Glowacki, "Acropolis," 80; and Merle K. Langdon, "Cult in Iron Age Attica," in *New Light on a Dark Age: Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece*, ed. Susan Langdon (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 116–118.

16. Eugene Vanderpool, "The Date of the Pre-Persian City Wall of Athens," in *Φόρος: A Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, ed. Donald W. Bradeen and Malcolm F. McGregor (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1974), 157–160; Shear, "Western Approach," 105.

17. For discussion of the possible forms of an earlier entrance, see Vanderpool, "Pre-Persian City Wall," and Shear, "Western Approach," 105–123. For the pre-Periklean *propyla*, see William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis*, vol. 1, *The Predecessors* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1980).

18. For a complete architectural study, see William Bell Dinsmoor and William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis*, vol. 2, *The Classical Building*, ed. Anastasia N. Dinsmoor (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004).

19. A look at the later walls is beyond the scope of this paper since my focus here is on the origins of the fortifications, but a useful survey of the Acropolis after antiquity can be found in Robert Ousterhout, "'Bestride the Very Peak of Heaven': The Parthenon after Antiquity," in *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to Present*, ed. Jenifer Neils (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 293–329. Vanderpool, "Pre-Persian City Wall," 157, notes that the Beule Gate marks the transformation of the site back into a citadel.

20. This is seen particularly in the second crown of the bastion, Mark, *Athena Nike*, 18.

21. Shear, "Western Approach," 119–120, argues that the wooden wall was a temporary barrier in place at the time of the oracle. Harrison N. Eiteljorg II, *The Entrance to the Athenian Acropolis before Mnesikles* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1995), 51–52, considers it an early ineffective structure. James A. S. Evans, "The 'Wooden Walls' Again," *The Ancient History Bulletin* 2 (1988): 25–30, on the other hand, argues that only stone walls were on the Acropolis, and the ancient attempt to interpret the oracle as referring to the Acropolis was creative at best.

22. Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 98, with full discussion on pages 85–98.

23. See Harris, *Treasures*, for the details of the treasury records for the Parthenon and Erechtheion. Shear, "Western Approach," 107, notes, "Although the Akropolis no longer served as a fortified citadel, it still needed some sort of gate to limit access to the shrine and to protect the dedications and treasuries."

24. For the walls of Eleusis, see John Travlos, "The Topography of Eleusis," *Hesperia* 18 (1949): 138–147. George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961) discusses the walls with respect to the phases of the site. Jennifer L. Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways: Entrances to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens" (PhD dissertation, Emory University, 2008) further ties the walls and other construction at the sanctuary to building projects throughout Attica.

25. There are architectural remains dating to the Bronze Age both on the acropolis and in the area of the later sanctuary, but no traces remain of anything that can be considered fortifications.

26. For the remains of earlier walls and their interpretation, see Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 42–43, 47, and 52. Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 71–74, follows the Peisistratid date after discussing the opposing arguments.

27. See Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 65–82, for this building project, its defensive character, and its relationship to building projects in the sanctuary and Attica. See also Travlos, "Eleusis," 138–140; Kevin Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy. Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years Since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992*, ed. William D. E. Coulson et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), 162; and Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 103.

28. An association with the Megarian War has been posited: see Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 72. The debate about the purpose and function of Attic forts is ongoing. All scholars do agree that Eleusis was strategically significant, even if they do not agree on what exactly the strategy of Athens was. See Daly in this volume for a discussion of the scholarly approaches to and the dates of Athenian fortification strategy; he highlights the significance of Eleusis in the protection of the borders of Attica. See also Travlos, "Eleusis," 138; Victor David Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece*, 2nd ed. (University of California Press, 1998), 90. Mark H. Munn, *The Defense of Attica: The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378–375 B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 7, notes that "Eleusis was a regular assembly point for expeditionary forces bound both for Boiotia and the Peloponnese," citing Thuc. 4.68.5, Xen., *Hell*. 7.5.15, and Dem., *De cor*. 177, 184.

29. For the walls in this phase, see Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 108–116.

30. The granaries are mentioned in the first fruits decree, *IG* 1^3.78a; Kevin Clinton, *Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*, vol. 1A, *Text* (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 2005), 37–39, no. 28a, lines 10–12, ca. 440–435 BCE. For the protection of the granaries, see Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 108, note 289, and 113, and Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 125.

31. Discussed by Palinkas, "Eleusinian Gateways," 70.

32. At least one historical incident indicates that the fortifications were not necessarily an effective means to keep out the uninitiated. A few foreigners from Akarnania accidentally entered the Eleusinian sanctuary in a crowd and were caught (Livy 31.14.6–11). They were put to death by the Athenians, resulting in an international incident. This episode and its bloody outcome are described by Jon D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 186–188, and Christian Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Anthony*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 197.

33. For a general description of the site with bibliography, see John McK. Camp II, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 305–309. See also William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., *Sounion* (Athens: Lycabettus Press, 1971). For the walls of the site, see Hans Lauter, "Das Teichos von Sounion," in *Attische Festungen. Beiträge zum Festungswesen und zur Siedlungsstruktur vom 5. bis 3. Jh. v. Chr.*, ed. Hans Lauter, Hans Lohmann, and Heide Lauter-Bufe (Marburg: Koch, 1989), 11-33. The Archaic temple of Poseidon that preceded the Classical one is the subject of a new study in preparation by Jessica Paga and Margaret M. Miles.

34. Munn, *Defense of Attica*, 10; Josiah Ober, *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404–322 B.C.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 136, 193; Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 90–91.

35. For some of the military events that involved Eleusis, from its security in the Peloponnesian War to its capture by Demetrios, see Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 178–179, 192–194, 202, 220; and Munn, *Defense of Attica*, 7. Before the invasion of Demetrios, sites including Eleusis, Sounion, and Rhamnous were used for the storage of property in the countryside (Dem., *De cor*. 18.37–38): see Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 99–100, and 113, but see also Ober, *Fortress Attica*, 98, note 35, on the problematic interpretation of this passage. Eleusis, Sounion, and Rhamnous were sites where soldiers were stationed, in addition to being the locations of famous sanctuaries. The religious activities of the Athenian *koinon* sometimes included involvement in the cults of the sanctuaries associated with their station (Mikalson, *Religion*, 157–178).

36. See also Livy 31.30 and Diod. Sic. 28.7. Mikalson, *Religion*, 190–192, discusses the impact of the invasion on religion; see also Homer A. Thompson, "Athens Faces Adversity," *Hesperia* 50 (1981): 343-355. Habicht, *Athens*, 194–213, offers the historical background for this incident. Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 42–43, emphasizes how outrageous and sacrilegious his actions would have been.

37. Thompson, "Athens Faces Adversity," 353.

38. Thompson, "Athens Faces Adversity," 354, note 52; Margaret M. Miles, "A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous," *Hesperia* 58 (1989): 235; Margaret M. Miles, "The Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1980), 163.

39. Pritchett, *Greek State at War* 5, 160–168, examines sanctuaries as the object of plunder; Miles, *Art as Plunder*, revisits this idea within the framework of the idea of cultural property; on the Greek period, 20–43.

40. Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 24–29, discusses Herodotus' story about the Persian destruction, noting it includes several examples of the Persians observing the Greek customs concerning sacred objects.

41. Tullia Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975), 84. For arguments about sanctuaries' safety from Spartans, see Miles, "A Reconstruction," 229. For the implications of the precedent of safety for the later invasions of Philip in which sanctuaries were destroyed, see Thompson, "Athens Faces Adversity," 354.

42. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 145–146, 157–161; on sacred olives in general, see pages 236–237.

43. In his study of the remains beneath the Stoa of Attalos, Townsend argues that the construction of a group of buildings around 430–425 BCE that destroyed a preexisting altar provides archaeological evidence for Thucydides' description, *Agora* 27:22–23 and pages 14–18 (on the altar).

44. See Lanni, "Laws of War," 473–474, for further discussion of the problems faced by sacred space in war. See also Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 36.

45. Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 32; Lanni, "Laws of War," 476. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 12, note 7, lists examples of "wartime violations of temples and sacred ground," but it is significant that most of his examples concern misused space (like Delion) or involve barbarians (Diod. Sic. 14.76); those that involve outright destruction are from the Hellenistic period or later (e.g., Polyb. 5.11.3–4). It is possible, however, that the story told by Herodotus about the madness and suicide of the Spartan king Kleomenes is evidence for an early destruction of a Greek

sanctuary by a Greek (Hdt. 6.75.3). His insanity was explained by various Greeks as a punishment for religious infractions, including bribing the Pythia, ravaging the sanctuary at Eleusis, and removing suppliants from an Argive sanctuary and burning its grove. Unfortunately, the details of his actions at Eleusis and Argos are not described elsewhere in the *Histories*, so these incidents cannot be explored fully.

46. Parker, *Miasma*, 171, argues that sanctuaries were not an "explicit target" in this period. Pritchett, *Greek State at War* 5, 162, likewise argues that incidents like that at Delion were different from looting.

47. Mikalson, *Religion*, 283; Parker, *Miasma*, 171. This did not mean that before this point cities did not worry at all about protecting their sanctuaries from invasions and looting, or that the sanctity of a place had no value; see Borimir Jordan, *Servants of the Gods: A Study in the Religion, History and Literature of Fifth-Century Athens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1979), 66–69, who argues that the defense of the Acropolis in the face of the Persians was not "a purely military problem" (page 66). The earliest examples of looting involve taking sanctuary property and funds to pay for mercenaries: Dionysius I in Syracuse, the Arkadian confederacy at Olympia, and the Phokians at Delphi. The Phokian sacrilege led to a Sacred War; see Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 36–38.

48. Pritchett, *Greek State at War* 5, 165, with note 224; Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 32.

49. Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 39. It is significant that *asylia* decrees appeared in the Hellenistic period, but they were not simply a result of the changing view towards sacred space during war, Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 14–15.

50. For further sources and incidents outside of Athens, see Mikalson, *Religion*, 87.

51. Paus. 1.29.16 again references the robbery of Lachares. Mikalson, *Religion*, 90–92. See also Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 262.

52. For Sulla's siege of Athens, see Michael C. Hoff, "*Laceratae Athenae*: Sulla's Siege of Athens in 87/6 BCE and its Aftermath," in *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, ed. Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 33–51. Jack Wells, "Impiety in the Middle Republic: The Roman Response to Temple Plundering in Southern Italy," *Classical Journal* 105 (2010): 229–243, offers a study of sanctuary plundering from the Roman view.

53. Hoff, "*Laceratae Athenae*," 37, discusses the different traditions about his death. Paus. 1.20.7 claims he was killed in the temple of Athena, though his version is the least likely to be correct.

54. Hoff, "*Laceratae Athenae*," 41–42; for other sources on the Sullan destruction, see Miles, *Art as Plunder*, 24.

55. Mikalson, *Religion*, 283–286; Hoff, "*Laceratae Athenae*," 37.

56. See *IG* 2^2.1035 with Gerald R. Culley, "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *I.G.*, II^2, 1035," *Hesperia* 44 (1975): 207–223, and Gerald R. Culley, "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica, II," *Hesperia* 46 (1977): 282–298, for a list of restored sites and sanctuaries. On the restoration see also Mikalson, *Religion*, 192 and 286. He describes the situation in the first century on page 286: "As part of the post-Sullan rebuilding the Athenians had to forbid the private sale or purchase of

sanctuaries, a provision that reveals the chaos in religious administrative structure that the siege had caused. They also had to restate the 'ancient tradition' that no one was to give birth or die in a sanctuary, and this suggests that some after the sack had taken up residence in the ruined and abandoned sanctuaries."

57. The ephebic patrol of sanctuaries could perhaps be viewed as another response to increased hostility towards sanctuaries, see below.

58. *Agora* 31:12 on this passage; pages 32–33 on evidence supporting the crowding in the area and the necessity of boundaries. Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space*, 58–59, recognizes that some spaces required more protection and restricted more activities than others.

59. *Agora* 31:25–26 on the Archaic *peribolos*; p. 31 on its expansion; pages 61–62 on the various doors mentioned in *IG* 2^2.1672 (329/8 BCE), at least one of which is an outer entrance door (line 162).

60. *Agora* 19:5–6 on the use and function of boundary stones; pages 7–10 on sanctuary *horoi* found in the Agora.

61. For a brief summary of the sources for this area and the associated problems of interpretation, see John McK. Camp II, "Water and the Pelargikon," in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Kent. J. Rigsby (Durham: Duke University, North Carolina, 1984), 37–38.

62. *IG* 1^3.78a; Clinton, *Eleusis Inscriptions*, 37–39; no. 28a, lines 53–61; ca. 440–435 BCE.

63. Camp, *Archaeology of Athens*, 123–124, suggests that a boundary stone for a spring on the south side of the Acropolis (*IG* 1^3.587) could be related to the resetting of boundaries prescribed in this rider.

64. Miles, "A Reconstruction," 227–235, argues that these decrees both were a part of post-war renewal of sanctuaries in Attica during the last third of the fifth century BCE (into which she places construction at the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous); pages 230–231, for the first fruits decree; page 231, for Kodros, Neleos, and Basile. However, Miles follows a date of ca. 422 BCE for the first fruits decree, and if the earlier date supported by Clinton, *Eleusis Inscriptions*, ca. 440–435 BCE, is correct, then a different context must be understood for the boundaries in the Pelargikon. For the history of problems with dating the inscription, see Maureen B. Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens: Documents in Finance, Religion and Politics in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 29–72, and 73–95 (on Cavanaugh's date in the 430s).

65. *IG* 2^2.204; Peter J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 272–281, no. 58.

66. The treatment of this text by Adele C. Scafuro, "IG II^2 204: Boundary Setting and Legal Process in Classical Athens," in *Symposium 1999. Vorträge zur griechischen hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Pazo de Mariñán, La Coruña, 6.–9. September 1999)*, ed. Gerhard Thür and Francisco J. F. Nieto (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 123–143, both examines the legal procedure behind the decree and provides bibliography and insights into boundary setting in general.

67. Rhodes and Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 182–193, no. 37; *Agora* 19:175–177, no. L4a; 363/2 BCE.

68. Parker, *Miasma*, 162. Here I draw attention to a non-Attic reference for comparison, the *altis* at Olympia, a clearly more "sacred" part of the sanctuary.

Outside of this area, where the main temples were located, different activities were allowed, including dining and camping by visitors. See Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space*, 59–62, on the "hierarchies of space" present in the Kodros, Neleos, and Basile decree (discussed above).

69. For a general overview of entrance into temples, see P. E. Corbett, "Greek Temples and Greek Worshippers: The Literary and Archaeological Evidence," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 17 (1970): 149-158. More recently, Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, 74, lists the sources and discusses the evidence for temples being opened only on special days. See also Jannis Mylonopoulos, "Divine Images Behind Bars: The Semantics of Barriers in Greek Temples," in *Current Approaches to Religion in Ancient Greece. Papers Presented at a Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 17–19 April 2008*, ed. Matthew Haysom and Jenny Wallensten (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen, 2011), 285–288.

70. Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 164, figure 129 (*pronaos*).

71. This inscription is discussed and translated by Mark, *Athena Nike*, 104–107, who provides the traditional date within the 440s. David W. J. Gill, "The Decision to Build the Temple of Athena Nike (*IG* I^3 35)," *Historia* 50 (2001): 266–267, argues for a later date based partially on the longevity of the three-barred sigma. Julia Lougovaya-Ast, "Myrrhine, the First Priestess of Athena Nike," *Phoenix* 60 (2006): 213–218, supports the earlier date; her arguments include a new interpretation of the inscriptions relating to the career of the priestess Myrrhine.

72. Discussed in *Agora* 31:61–62.

73. The Attic examples include the temple of Athena at Sounion and the Parthenon. Mylonopoulos, "Divine Images Behind Bars," 272–275.

74. For a thorough study of treasuries and their ritual use, see Isabelle Pafford, "Cult Fees and the Ritual of Money in Greek Sanctuaries of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2006). See also Gabriele Kaminski, "Thesauros: Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts*, 106 (1991): 63-181.

75. K. N. Kazamiakes, "Θησαυρός Αφροδίτης Ουρανίας· η κατασκευή," *Horos* 8–9 (1990-1991): 29–44. This *thesauros* is now on display in the new Acropolis Museum.

76. Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 55–56.

77. The keys of the *epistates* are discussed by Peter J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 531–532.

78. Joan B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 92–104; Alexandros G. Mantes, Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερέων στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη (Athens: Ekdose tou Tameiou Archaiologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 1990); Ralf von den Hoff, "Images and Prestige of Cult Personnel in Athens between the Sixth and First Centuries BC," in *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, ed. Beate Dignas and Kai Trampedach (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 200–141, especially 115–117; Joan B. Connelly, "In Divine Affairs–The Greatest Part: Women and Priesthoods in Classical Athens," in *Worshiping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, ed. Nikolaus Kaltsas and H. Alan Shapiro (New York: Alexander

S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2008), 191–192, with catalogue nos. 78, 80, 82–83, and 85–91.

79. On the function of Greek priests in general, especially their safeguarding of the *hiera*, see Albert Henrichs, "What is a Greek Priest?" in *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, ed. Beate Dignas and Kai Trampedach (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2008), 1–14.

80. For the content of this decree, see Jordan, *Servants of the Gods*; Németh, "Μεδ' ὄνθον ἐγβαλεῖν"; and Patricia A. Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoikhedon Style* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

81. For priestesses living in sanctuaries, see Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 202.

82. Ibid., 202, where Connelly takes this evidence to suggest that priestesses sometimes had their own special place in or at temples. Although Robert Parker, *Cleomenes on the Acropolis. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford on 12 May 1997* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), focuses on this story's relationship to Greek ethnicity and religion, he does bring up questions relevant to this study on page 7: "One might even say a puzzled word or two about the apparent implication of the story for the uses of Greek temples and the daily routine of Greek priestesses: one does not usually envisage the priestess seated all day in the inner sanctum waiting to warn off intruders."

83. Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 50.

84. For a discussion of these guards with references, see Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 51. He makes the point that the fifty guards may have *watched* the visitors, rather than kept them out. The Greek here is ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουροὶ ν'. See commentary by Rhodes, *Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, 304, who identifies *polei* as the Acropolis and suggests the possibility that these guards could be a contingent of the 1600 archers mentioned earlier in the same passage.

85. Mark, *Athena Nike*, 64–66, argues for a date of ca. 445 BCE for this inscription and discusses the implications for our understanding of the architecture at the time. Gill, "Decision," 442, with note 113, suggests a date a decade or two later based on his downdating of *IG* 1^3.35.

86. See Angelos Chaniotis, "Conflicting Authorities. *Asylia* between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis," *Kernos* 9 (1996): 65-86, for legal problems with religiously-sanctioned supplication (on page 72, he discusses this inscription). Ulrich Sinn, "Greek Sanctuaries as Places of Refuge," in *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, ed. Nanno Marinatos and Robin Hägg (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 88–109, examines how sanctuaries dealt with supplication (page 92 for this inscription). Fred S. Naiden, *Ancient Supplication* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), explores supplication in the Greco-Roman world in general (page 184 for this inscription).

87. Rhodes and Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 128–134, no. 27; *LSCG* 69; 387–377 BCE. For a recent discussion of the portion of this text involving sacrifice, see Eran Lupu, "Sacrifice at the Amphiareion and a Fragmentary Sacred Law from Oropos," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 321–323. For the date, see Lupu, "Sacrifice," 322 and 333, note 73. This sanctuary shifted between Athenian and Boiotian control throughout its history. Although this regulation is thought to have been written during a period of independence of the sanctuary, I am including it with the

Attic evidence because of the site's overall history and its proximity to Athens. A general presentation of the site with bibliography can be found in Vasileios Petrakos, *The Amphiareion of Oropos* (Athens: Clio, 1995). For an overview of the site's history, see page 8.

88. This passage is translated by Mikalson, *Religion*, 244–245: "[going] out to the boundaries of Attica in weapons and [becoming] experienced in the land and roads, and [being] present [. . .] at the sanctuaries in the countryside, and in these . . . continually sacrific[ing] and [seeking] good omens on behalf of the Demos." For the history and sources for the ephebic patrol, see Munn, *Defense of Attica*, 4–6.

89. See Sally Humphreys, "Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr*, ed. John W. Eadie and Josiah Ober (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 1985), 206–209, and Habicht, *Athens*, 233–237, on the functions and activities of the ephebate after the reforms of Lycurgus; on pages 289–290, Habicht comments on the ephebate during the period of this inscription.

90. Humphreys, "Lycurgus of Butadae," 205.

91. Also discussed briefly by Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, 26–27.

92. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, 25, also briefly points out this phenomenon of "reports of offenders being commonly solicited from witnesses; failing to report may constitute an offence in and of itself," citing *LSCG* 116 from Chios. Another example of fine sharing is found in the so-called sacred law of Andania, *IG* 5.1.1390 (= *LSCG* 55), lines 78–80, 91 BCE.

93. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 60.2, even notes the death penalty as a possible punishment. For commentary on this speech, see *Lysias: Selected Speeches*, ed. Christopher Carey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 114–141. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 57–58, 157–158, 164–165, discusses the speech and its relationship to the real treatment of Athenian sacred olives; pages 236–237, for sacred olive trees and terminology. See also Parker, *Miasma*, 163 and 165.

94. Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, ed. Douglas M. MacDowell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 11–15, provides a summary of what led to the trial, based on the extant speech of the defendant.

95. Naiden, *Ancient Supplication*, 184, briefly discusses the legal realities behind this exchange, drawing on the legal procedure of *endeixis* (the verb used in line 48 is ἐνδείξω). An amusing twist on the concept of witnesses can be found in Aelian's story of a guard dog at the Athenian sanctuary of Asklepios (Ael., *NA* 7.13). The dog notices and pursues some robbers; his "testimony" leads to a guilty verdict at trial, and the dog is rewarded with meals at public expense.

96. The similarity between prosecution for secular and religious offenses is a factor of the similarity between secular and religious law. The problems with the definition of "sacred law" along with how its forms, categories, and authority cannot be distinguished from those of "non-sacred law" are outlined in Robert Parker, "What Are Sacred Laws?" in *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, ed. Edward M. Harris and Lene Rubinstein (London: Duckworth, 2004), 57-70, and Robert Parker, "Law and Religion," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law*, ed. Michael Gagarin and David Cohen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 61-81. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, 3–9, reviews the history of the corpora; Fred S. Naiden, "Sanctions in Sacred Laws," in *Symposion*

2007. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Durham, 2.–6. September 2007), ed. Edward M. Harris and Gerhard Thür (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 125–138, revisits Parker's conclusions about sanctions.

97. David Cohen, "Crime, Punishment, and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law*, ed. Michael Gagarin and David Cohen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 211-235, examines the ramifications of the reliance on "the private initiation of prosecution" (page 213) in Athenian law (since there was no public prosecutor).

98. Edward M. Harris, "Who Enforced the Law in Classical Athens?" in *Symposium 2005. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Salerno, 14.–18. September 2005)*, ed. Eva Cantarella (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 159–176, shows that the idea of "self-help" in Athenian law has been misunderstood and highlights the importance of the authority held by officials.

99. Lanni, "Laws of War," 475–476, downplays the force of divine retribution and the role it played, but at the same time she argues that the norms of warfare were based on religion. See W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 1–10, for the opposing view, that Greeks did believe in divine intervention and this affected their choices in war.

100. I have once again strayed from Attica for the sake of this dramatic example.

101. Although this sanctuary was located in the Peloponnese and was dedicated to a goddess of Asia Minor, an Athenian set up this stele, so it fits this discussion of Attic practices. Naiden, "Sanctions," 131, suggests that this warning is related to the sanctuary's foundation by an individual because an individual has no authority to impose sanctions. An inscription recording the same dedication as Xenophon's text, but dating to the end of the second/ beginning of the third century CE, was found on the island of Ithaca, *IG* 9.1.654 (= *LSCG* 86), either a later copy or an ancient forgery.

102. Naiden, "Sanctions," 136, emphasis mine. Mylonopoulos, "Divine Images Behind Bars," 288, similarly concludes, "For the impious violators of a temple, boundaries...were merely an unimportant physical obstacle that had to be overcome. Only those who accepted their symbolic meaning respected boundaries of any form."

4

The Eagle of Zeus in Greek Art and Literature

Seán Hemingway

"The winged hound of Zeus, the tawny eagle"

—Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 1021.

This article examines the rich mythology and iconography of Zeus's bird in Greek literature and art from the Geometric period (ca. 900-700 BCE) to the end of the Hellenistic era (323-31 BCE).[1] Bronze Age antecedents are explored briefly, and a new interpretation of a scene on a bronze shield from the Idaian Cave on Crete is proposed. If correct, this would be the earliest example of the eagle of Zeus in Greek art, and it comes from one of the most important early sanctuaries to Zeus. While the article by no means covers all of the representations of the eagle of Zeus, it does feature some of the most important and representative examples. It is notable that the Athenian contribution in both literature and art dominates in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. Athenian vase painters were especially interested in representing Greek myths and this is reflected in their depictions of the eagle of Zeus. In antiquity, the most famous sculptures of the eagle of Zeus known from the Classical period were created by Athenian sculptors. In Hellenistic times, the eagle of Zeus became a popular symbol, especially in coinage, of the sovereign power of the Hellenistic kings.

It should be noted at the outset that not every eagle represented in Greek art is meant to signify the eagle of Zeus. Aristotle in his magisterial *History of Animals* (9-10) distinguished no less than six different species of eagle resident in Greece.[2] Large raptors appear in Greek gems feasting on carrion flesh.[3] Eagles are also depicted carrying aloft snakes and other

prey or are represented on their own.[4] In many cases it is not possible to know if an association with Zeus was intended. One particularly interesting class of objects is the Archaic Greek plastic vase in the shape of the head of an eagle, of which there is a particularly fine example in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[5] These painted sculptural terracotta aryballoi were produced at a number of workshops around the Greek world but were especially associated with Rhodes and eastern Greece. Eagle head rhytons were also produced, of which one of the finest is attributed to the Athenian vase painter Douris.[6] The head of an eagle adorned Late Archaic and Early Classical coinage of Ialysos on Rhodes and at Paphos on Cyprus.[7] On the northern borders of the Greek world and in the Black Sea region and further to the east where eagles were prominent features of the steppe landscape, eagles appear in the iconography of the elite preserved in wealthy burials.[8]

Likewise there are many literary references to eagles that do not necessarily involve the Olympian father of the gods.[9] Pindar often uses the eagle in his poetry sometimes comparing its power and speed to that of athletic victors.[10] Eagles are featured in tales of a number of mythological and historical figures. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 10), Periclymenus, one of Jason's Argonauts to whom Poseidon had given the power of shape-shifting, escaped Herakles in the form of an eagle. Nisus, legendary king of Megara, was changed into an eagle.[11] Merops, king of Cos, was changed into an eagle by Hera and placed among the stars.[12] A tale about the celebrated "rosy-cheeked" Greek courtesan Rhodopis related by Strabo (17.1.33) and Aelian (*VH* 13.33) describes an eagle taking her sandal while she was bathing at Naucratis and dropping it in the lap of the Egyptian king as he was administering justice at Memphis. The king did not rest until he had found its owner and made her his queen. Nonetheless, despite the fact that eagles were sometimes featured in legends unconnected to Zeus, when another myth was not made explicit the possibility of an association with Zeus is likely to have been a primary consideration for the ancient Greek who encountered an eagle in reality or in art.

In a seminal article of 1946 entitled "The Eagle of Zeus," George Mylonas argued against an early connection between the eagle and Zeus suggesting instead that the association began in the late eighth century BCE at Mount Lykaion and spread from there.[13] While there remains little conclusive support for the very early association of Zeus and the eagle, a number of strands of evidence make this theory a viable probability. Eagles were elite symbols of power and strength as early as the Bronze Age, when they appear as trophy displays in gold relief work from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.[14] Linear B tablets attest to the existence of Zeus in the Late Bronze Age.[15] Recent excavations of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion have shown that ritual use of its early open air

altar stretched back much further into the Bronze Age than had previously been known.[16] When Pausanias visited the sanctuary in the second century CE, he recorded that before this famous altar of Zeus stood two pillars surmounted by ancient gilded eagles.[17] It is likely that at Mount Lykaion the Greek god Zeus subsumed the cult of an earlier sky deity, and the association of the eagle, the most majestic of raptors, with a sky divinity, is a natural one.[18] The eagle and Zeus appear to have early associations on Crete as well, where the traditional worship of Diktaian Zeus was one of the oldest cults of the thunder god.[19]

According to Greek mythology, Rhea bore Zeus in a mountain cave on Crete to hide him from his father Kronos who wanted to kill him.[20] Zeus was raised there in the cave on Mount Dikta, suckled by a goat named Amalthea and guarded by the *Kouretes*, young men who clashed their shields together to hide the baby's cries from Kronos. The location of the Diktaian cave remains uncertain but there are a number of Early Greek cave sanctuaries on Crete that have yielded votive objects. The cave sanctuary to Zeus on Mount Ida is among the most important with its large number of Early Greek bronze votives including statuettes, tripod cauldrons, shields with elaborate relief decoration and other objects.[21] Many of the bronzes exhibit eastern features and scholars have debated whether they are the work of itinerant Syrian metalsmiths or are local products. The latter hypothesis is more likely.

A bronze tympanon from the Idaian cave depicts a very eastern looking representation of the Kronos myth.[22] A shield (Figure 4.1) with a large raptor in flight and clutching a male sphinx in its talons is likely the earliest representation that we have of Zeus's eagle in Greek art and dates to the late ninth or eighth century BCE.[23] The specific myth represented on the shield is difficult to interpret. Could it be the apotheosis of Minos represented as a sphinx, an Egyptian symbol of divine kingship?[24] More likely, it represents the apotheosis of the young Zeus himself from Crete by his eagle. In this case the goat represented on the lower left of the shield would refer to Amalthea, the she-goat that suckled Zeus in the Diktaian cave.[25] While we cannot be certain which myth is represented, the image of an eagle bearing someone or thing up into the heavens is a clear predecessor to the standard iconography of the eagle of Zeus in later Greek art and its occurrence at a cave sanctuary to the god adds to the likelihood that a myth associating the eagle with Zeus is represented.[26] Likewise, the votive bronze shield itself was surely meant to evoke the memory of the shields the *Kouretes* used to watch over the young Zeus.

Traces of a rich tradition of Greek myths about the eagle of Zeus from Hesiod, Homer, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, among others, demonstrate that the eagle served as Zeus's faithful messenger and as an instrument of his divine power. In the myth of Prometheus, who was punished by Zeus

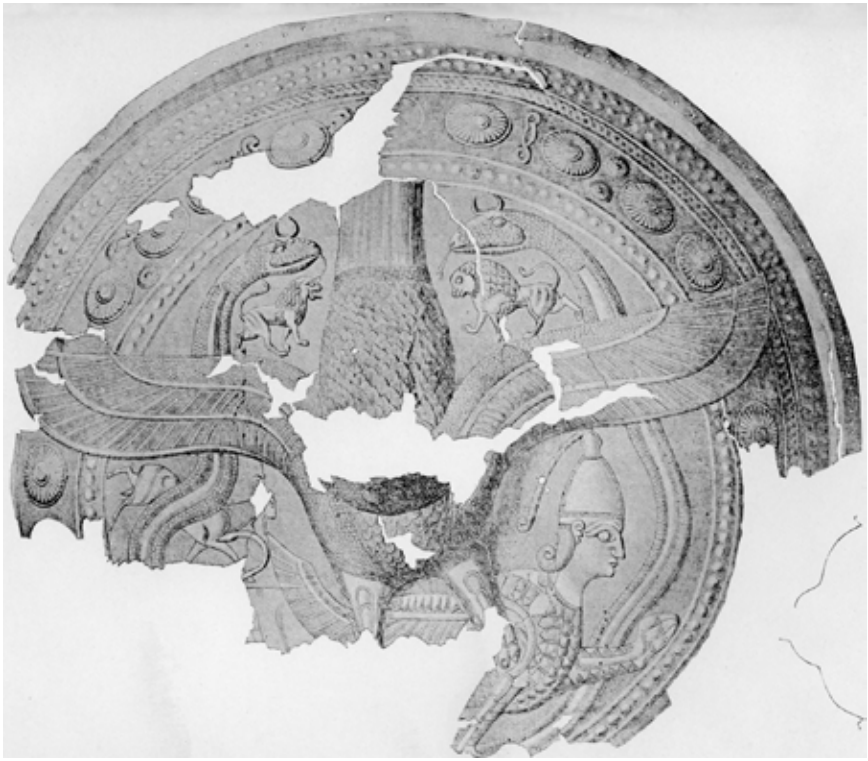


Figure 4.1. Drawing of an early Greek bronze shield from the Idaian Cave, Crete, without restored head of eagle. Original ca. late ninth or eighth century BCE.
Herakleion, National Archaeological Museum, accession no. 8. Drawing by E. Gilliéron, from "Early Bronzes Discovered in Krete," by Arthur L. Frothingham, American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts 4 (1888): 431–449, plate 17.

for stealing fire and bringing it to mankind, it is an eagle that Zeus sends to devour again and again each day the magically regenerating liver of the bound hero. This early trickster myth was likely already very old by the time Hesiod recorded it, our earliest extant reference.[27] Greek artists of the seventh century BCE represent in a variety of media the eagle torturing Prometheus. The scene occurs in graphic detail on a Laconian kylix that was exported to Etruria in the sixth century BCE and discovered in a tomb in Cerveteri. It is a work that dates to ca. 560-550 BCE and is attributed to the Arkesilas Painter.[28] A slightly earlier kylix of ca. 570 BCE and attributed to the Naukratis Painter shows Zeus seated together with his eagle in flight and it may represent an earlier scene in the myth when Zeus sends out his eagle to Prometheus.[29]

In some of the earliest preserved myths of Zeus and the eagle, the eagle acts as a messenger for the god. The use of birds for such divine messages

or signs is an early aspect of many religions. In book 24 of the *Iliad*, Zeus in response to Priam's prayers sends a great eagle "as big as the build of a door to the towering chamber of a rich man" as an omen of favorable passage before Priam makes his way into the enemy camp to Achilles to plead for the body of his son Hector.[30] On a panel of the Archaic bronze Etruscan chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto (Figure 4.2) in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is represented a scene from the Trojan war: the hero Achilles battling another hero, likely Memnon, king of the Ethiopians. Achilles appears on the right and between the warriors flying in the same direction as the great Homeric warrior an eagle soars, likely a favorable omen sent from Zeus to indicate Achilles will be victorious. The iconography and style of decoration on this masterpiece of metalworking is strongly influenced by Ionian Greek prototypes and it may even be the work of an itinerant Greek artist. [31]

One of the most evocative ancient literary references to the eagle of Zeus comes from Aeschylus's, *Prometheus Bound*, a tragic play that may have been produced posthumously in Syracuse in ca. 430 BCE.[32] As

Figure 4.2. Panel from a bronze chariot with scenes from the life of the Greek hero Achilles, Etruscan, Archaic, ca. second quarter of the sixth century BCE. Found near Monteleone di Spoleto in 1902.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903, accession no. 03.23.1. Photograph courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

quoted at the beginning of this article, the eagle of Zeus is compared by the god Hermes to a hound—a master's faithful companion—a strong and natural hunter who appears fearless in classical art when cornering dangerous animals such as wild boars. Aristophanes alludes to the eagle of Zeus in *Peace*, first produced in Athens at the Dionysia of 421 BCE, a comic play in which he substitutes an Aetnean dung beetle in place of the winged horse Pegasus to bring the hero Trygaeus up to see Zeus on Mount Olympus.[33] The choice of the dung beetle, an ignoble steed with obvious comic associations, recalls Aesop's fable of the dung beetle and the eagle. In the fable, the dung beetle, in retribution for the slaying of his friend the hare, destroys repeatedly the eggs of the eagle, who, in an extreme effort to protect them from the beetle, places them on Zeus's lap until the beetle, stuffed with dung, flies up to Mount Olympus and into Zeus's face, causing him to leap up and let the eggs fall and break.[34] The moral of the story is that a strong-willed victim can have his revenge, no matter how insignificant or powerless he may seem. Aesop's fable about the eagle makes clear its association with Zeus was introduced at an early age to Greek children who would have recalled the association whenever they saw one of these majestic raptors flying high in the sky or perched on a tree.

As the father of the city's patron deity, the cult of Zeus was important for Athens. In fact, one of the city's foundation myths gives Zeus special importance and Athens legendary prominence as the first city of mankind. Pausanias (1.18.8) tells us that the first temple to Olympian Zeus was erected south of the Acropolis in the Ilissos district by Deucalion, a son of Prometheus. According to myth, Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were the sole survivors of a flood sent by Zeus and together they repopulated the human race. Deucalion located his temple to Zeus in the Ilissos district because this was where it was believed the water finally flowed off after the deluge, and their repopulation of the world began in Athens, where Deucalion's tomb was later recorded. The temple attributed to Deucalion was superseded by the temple of Zeus Olympios grandly conceived by the Peisistratids in the sixth century BCE but not completed. The later monumental temple with columns in the Corinthian style, remains of which still stand at the site, was of the same dimensions as the Peisistratid temple and was begun under Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 174 BCE. This temple to Olympian Zeus, considered the largest in Greece and one of the largest ever conceived in antiquity, was finally finished during the reign of the emperor Hadrian who commissioned for it the largest chryselephantine cult statue ever made.

Myths about Zeus were a favorite subject of Athenian vase painters during the Archaic and Classical periods evident in their portrayals of Zeus and the eagle. For the myth of Prometheus bound, some Athenian

black-figure vase painters favored a later scene when Herakles rescues Prometheus by shooting the eagle with an arrow loosened from his legendary bow.[35] At times Herakles is shown taking aim at the eagle.[36] In other instances, the eagle has already been struck by Herakles's arrows and the hero approaches Prometheus to unbind him.[37]

One of the finest extant representations of Zeus and his eagle (Figure 4.3) is that on a red-figure calyx-krater attributed to the Eucharides Painter, an Athenian artist who was active in the first half of the fifth century BCE.[38] Zeus sits on an elaborate stool covered with a leopard skin. In his left hand he holds a wooden staff on which a large eagle perches. The artist has carefully represented the eagle with attention to the shape of the head as well as the treatment of the feathers but with an uncharacteristically elongated beak. Ganymede stands before Zeus and pours wine from an oinochoe into his phiale, which is ornamented with a laurel wreath. The names Zeus and Ganymede are inscribed. The presence of the eagle recalls an earlier episode in the myth of Ganymede when Zeus had the beautiful mortal youth brought up to Mount Olympus in the clutches of his eagle to be his cup bearer. The myth is an especially appropriate subject for a drinking vessel.

Another myth that was popular with Athenian vase painters is the gigantomachy or battle between the gods and giants. The battle is represented on a red-figure neck amphora attributed to the Berlin Painter (Figure 4.4), in which Zeus appears on one side with a giant opposing him on the other. Zeus is shown striding, brandishing a flaming thunderbolt in his right hand, the eagle about to take flight from his left hand. The god's pose recalls a series of earlier small-scale bronze statuettes from Mount Lykaios, Olympia and elsewhere.[39] If this allusion is correctly identified, it would help to explain the unusually small size of the eagle, which does not look particularly aquiline in its features. Sometimes in Athenian vase painting the eagle is also shown in flight in front of Zeus battling the giants, a subject that receives monumental treatment in the Hellenistic period on the gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon.[40]

Athenian vase painters continued to represent Zeus and his eagle throughout the fifth century BCE. A particularly fine representation of the late fifth century BCE comes from the Agora in Athens on an unattributed fragmentary red-figure chous (pitcher) painted by an artist near to the Medias Painter (Figure 4.5).[41] Zeus, his name inscribed, stands with a staff in his left hand and the eagle flies out before him, its wings spread in flight. The artist has applied gilding to the feathers to give the eagle a golden hue.[42] Athenian painted pottery was exported widely to Greek city states and trading posts around the Mediterranean Sea and became influential, especially in southern Italy where Greek ceramic workshops were established at a number of centers in the Classical period.[43] A fragment of

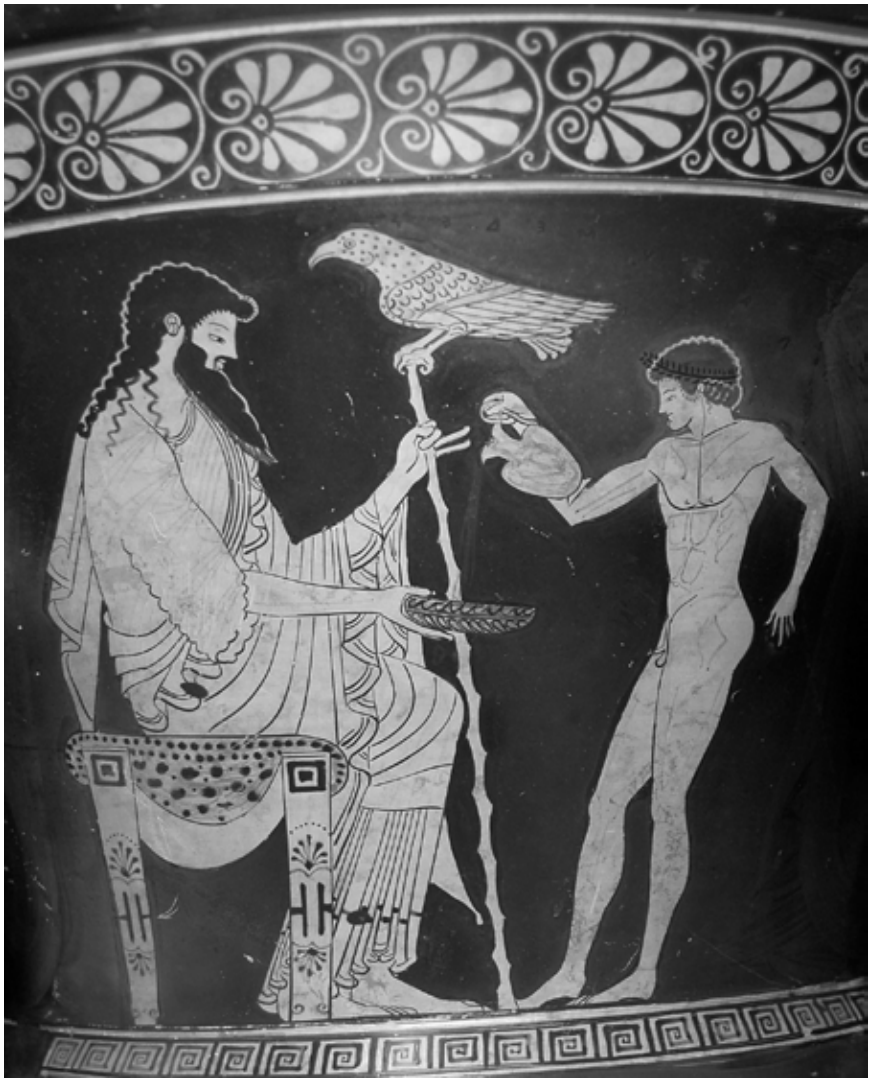


Figure 4.3. Red-figure terracotta calyx-krater, attributed to the Eucharides Painter. Detail of side A with Zeus and his eagle with Ganymede. Greek, Attic, ca. 490–480 BCE. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per Archeologia, Italy. Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.4. Red-figure terracotta neck amphora, attributed to the Berlin Painter. Side A, Zeus and his eagle, with detail of Zeus flying his eagle. Greek, Attic, ca. 470-450 BCE.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, accession no. G204. Image copyright P. and M. Chuzeville. Musée du Louvre-Documentation AGER.

a red-figure skyphos (deep drinking cup) attributed to the Lucanian artist known as the Palermo Painter depicts Zeus enthroned being crowned by Eros (Figure 4.6). Zeus cradles a scepter, on which is surmounted a bird. The bird may represent a small eagle although it does not look it (as is certainly the case for the Berlin Painter vase discussed above), or it could be another type of bird associated with Zeus.[44] A red-figure vase from Nola in southern Italy and formerly in the collection of Sir William Hamilton depicts the eagle of Zeus or Zeus in the form of an eagle carrying off the muse Thaleia.[45]

Classical Athenian sculptors made outstanding and influential sculptures of the eagle of Zeus. Certainly one of the most important artistic representations of Zeus in the Classical period is the chryselephantine cult statue made for the temple of Zeus at Olympia by the Athenian artist Phidias. It is clear from ancient literary references that the god was enthroned with a Nike in his right hand and in his left a scepter on which was surmounted an eagle.[46] This statue survived into late antique times when it was moved to Constantinople and would have influenced Greek artists for centuries, helping to establish the canonical association in Greek art of Zeus and the eagle.[47] The eagle of Zeus also figures prominently in the coinage of Classical Elis, the city-state that governed Olympia. For

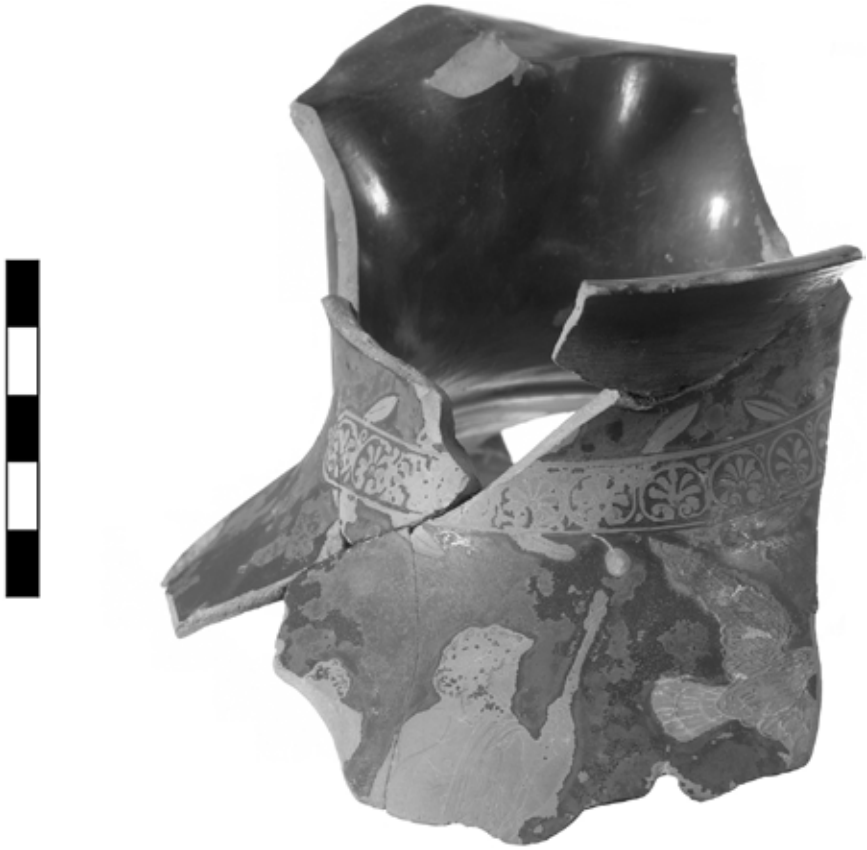


Figure 4.5. Fragment of a red-figure terracotta chous (pitcher) by an unattributed painter near to the Medias Painter, with Zeus and the eagle. Greek, Attic, ca. late fifth century BCE.
Athens, Agora Museum, accession no. P7947. Photograph courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

example, the eagle appears surmounting an Ionic column capital on the reverse of a Classical gold stater minted for use at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. On the obverse was depicted the head of Zeus.[48]

It is not clear whether the eagle of Zeus was featured in the sculptural program of the Parthenon, which was also created under the direction of Phidias. A number of scholars, including Arthur B. Cook and Evelyn B. Harrison, have suggested that the eagle may have been incorporated into the east pediment of the Parthenon near to a seated Zeus and have offered reconstructions.[49] Olga Palagia, who argues for a central standing Zeus in the east pediment, does not restore an eagle because there

Figure 4.6. Fragment of a red-figure terracotta skyphos (deep drinking cup), attributed to the Palermo Painter, with Zeus enthroned. Greek, South Italian, Lucanian, ca. 430–400 BCE.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911, accession no. 11.212.12. Photograph courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

are no physical remains for it.[50] The matter must remain open to debate but given Phidias's inclusion of the eagle in his iconic representation of Zeus at Olympia, it is quite possible that he would have reinforced this association in the sculptural program of the Parthenon where Zeus plays an important role.[51]

One of the most celebrated statues of the eagle of Zeus made in the fourth century BCE was by the Athenian sculptor Leochares. A large-scale bronze of the eagle bearing Ganymede to Zeus in Olympus, it was noted for its bold composition and sensitive rendering of the eagle that was aware of the precious cargo it bore tenderly in its talons.[52] The sculpture is echoed in an exquisite pair of late fourth-century BCE gold earrings (Figure 4.7) in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art that suggests the dynamism of Leochares's original bronze.[53] The image portrayed in the earrings, however, has overt sexual overtones that would not have been appropriate to Leochares' statue: Ganymede is naked instead of clothed and he appears enraptured with the eagle who surely

Figure 4.7. Pair of gold earrings in the form of Ganymede and the Eagle. Greek, Late Classical or Early Hellenistic, ca. 330–300 BCE.
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1937, accession no. 37.11.8–.9. Photograph courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

represents Zeus himself as Ovid later describes the myth.[54] The airborne subject is especially well suited to an earring that would dangle, adding to the impression of flight.[55]

Several Roman copies of a statue group of a standing Ganymede leaning towards Zeus's eagle at his side have sometimes been attributed to Euphranor, a Late Classical Athenian sculptor and painter. However, this classicizing type probably is a later adaptation that may have originated in Late Hellenistic times.[56] Another late type, whose origin is unclear but may also originally stem from a major Late Hellenistic work, occurs in sculptural reliefs and gems; it represents Ganymede holding a cup from which the eagle drinks.[57]

Alexander the Great cultivated a strong, even lineal, association with Zeus. The links began with Alexander's birth in 356 BCE which coincided with his father Philip II's victory in the horse race at the Olympic games in honor of Zeus.[58] In 334, as Alexander began his march across Asia, he stopped at Gordion where it was prophesied that whoever should untie the knot of the yoke King Gordius, father of King Midas, had dedicated to Zeus would reign over all Asia. Alexander cut the knot of Gordius's yoke with his sword and applied the oracle to himself.[59] The eagle of Zeus figures in the story as it settled on Gordius's yoke of oxen one day while he was ploughing and not yet king and the eagle remained there until evening. This was taken as a sign from Zeus. It was later prophesied to the people of Phyrgia that a cart would bring them a king whereupon Gordius arrived in the same cart yoked with oxen and was made king. Early in 331 BCE, Alexander the Great made a legendary visit to the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon at the Siwah oasis in the Libyan desert, where it is said that the oracle answered his questions to his heart's desire, telling him that he was the son of Zeus.[60] Later that same year, when Alexander was at Gaugemela, the most important military victory of his career, Zeus and the eagle played a part. Plutarch describes the outset of the battle when Alexander marshals his troops with a rousing speech and the appearance of Zeus's eagle signaled their imminent success:

> On this occasion, he made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks, and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right appealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he really was sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Aristander the seer, too, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out to them an eagle which soared above the head of Alexander and directed his flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the beholders, and after mutual encouragement and exhortation, the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a flood.[61]

Alexander reinforced his association with Zeus through his coinage. He minted tetradrachms with an image of the head of Herakles, a son of Zeus, on one side and an image of an enthroned Zeus holding an eagle in his outstretched right hand and a scepter in his left hand.[62] The silver five-shekel pieces from Babylonia that commemorate Alexander's victory over Porus in India also appear to represent on the reverse Alexander holding a thunderbolt and spear about to be crowned by Nike.[63] Scholars disagree on the date of this coin type but it may have been minted in Alexander's lifetime or shortly thereafter. The inclusion of the thunderbolt is a direct allusion to Alexander's descent from Zeus; similar imagery is used on a carnelian gemstone in St. Petersburg that also depicts the eagle of Zeus at Alexander's side. Alexander was famously depicted in his lifetime holding a thunderbolt in a painting by Apelles which Alexander commissioned for the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.[64]

Alexander's close association with Zeus was cultivated in Hellenistic times by his successors, who sought to stress their divine sanction and power through their own association with the divine Alexander. The Ptolemies, in particular, not only memorialized the body of Alexander in an elaborate tomb known as the Soma built in Alexandria but adopted sophisticated royal iconography that reinforced their ties to the great king and Zeus. Beginning with Ptolemy I, a very Greek portrait of Zeus Ammon was prominently featured in the coinage of the Ptolemies opposite an image of the eagle of Zeus grasping a thunderbolt.[65] The eagle was already considered a sacred bird in Egypt and it also served as a portent in connection with the founding of the Ptolemaic dynasty.[66] Large-scale statuary of Zeus Ammon would have been an important part of the Ptolemaic royal iconographic program. A number of Roman portrait heads of Zeus Ammon from Egypt are likely derived from one or more Ptolemaic statues of the god that would have been commissioned at some time after Alexander's historic visit to the oracular sanctuary at Siwah.[67] These powerful portraits combine a Classical Greek image of the bearded Zeus with the ram's horns of the Egyptian Ammon, an attribute with which Alexander himself was sometimes represented.

The Ptolemies placed the eagle of Zeus on many different issues of their coinage. Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II featured a portrait of Alexander with the ram's horns of Ammon and wearing an elephant headdress opposite the eagle, making explicit their association to Alexander and through him to Zeus.[68] Ptolemy II also issued a bronze coin with two eagles clutching thunderbolts opposite a portrait of Zeus Ammon.[69] In Greek mythology the eagle bears Zeus's thunderbolts and here the thunderbolt clearly also signifies Zeus and concomitantly the sovereign power of the Ptolemies.[70] Later Ptolemaic kings placed their own image or sometimes the goddess Isis opposite the eagle of Zeus and likely represented the eagle of Zeus

on other kinds of objects as well.[71] Other Hellenistic rulers, including the Seleucids and Macedonians, also used the eagle of Zeus carrying a thunderbolt on their coinage.[72]

Independent city-states sometimes featured the eagle of Zeus in their coinage during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The eagle was especially popular on the coinage of Crete where Zeus remained a favored deity linked by myth as the place of his birth.[73] For example, a series of coins from the East Cretan city-state of Praisos depicts a seated Zeus holding an eagle in his hand, possibly to represent a Classical cult statue of the god that was kept in his temple on the acropolis of the city.[74] One of the most interesting numismatic representations occurs on coins from Gortyn in central Crete. The city was famous for its ancient plane tree by a spring, under whose shade legend has it Zeus and Europa lay together after Zeus brought her to the island.[75] Coins issued from Gortyn sometimes represent Europa in the plane tree with an eagle, presumably representing Zeus, perching near her, or shown on her knees. This seems to represent a local version of the myth in which Zeus approached her as an eagle later, after carrying her off in the form of a bull.[76]

One final example, a cristobalite gem with a striking image of Zeus astride his eagle (Figure 4.8), illustrates a different type that likely originated in the Hellenistic period and became popular in Roman Imperial times.[77] The gem, in fact, can be identified as a Roman copy of a Hellenistic type in a high baroque style. Since only slightly less than half of the gem is preserved, the entire composition is not known. It is clear, though, that artists in subsequent centuries appropriated the imagery to represent the apotheosis of Roman emperors carried on high by the eagle.[78]

CONCLUSION

Zeus and the eagle have a long-standing association in ancient Greek cult, evident at some of the oldest Greek sanctuaries to Zeus such as the Idaian Cave on crete and on Mount Lykaion. A bronze votive shield of the late ninth century or eighth century BCE from the sanctuary of Zeus at the Idaian Cave is the earliest secure extant image of Zeus's eagle. Traces of a rich tradition of Greek myths about the eagle of Zeus from Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, among others, demonstrate that the eagle served as Zeus's faithful messenger and as an instrument of his divine power. Aesop's fable about the eagle makes clear its association with Zeus was introduced at an early age to Greek children who would have recalled the association whenever they saw one of these majestic raptors flying high in the sky or on a perch. Eagles were not always linked to Zeus in Greek mythology and art but when another myth was not made

Figure 4.8. Cristobalite gem with Zeus astride an eagle, Roman, first century BCE, after a Hellenistic type.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Milton Weil, 1932, accession no. 32.142.2. Photograph courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

explicit the possibility of an association with Zeus is likely to have been a primary consideration for the ancient Greek who encountered an eagle in reality or in art.

A diachronic survey of the iconography of the eagle of Zeus from the late ninth through the first centuries BCE highlights the importance of the Athenian contribution in the Late Archaic and, especially, the Classical period. Athenian vase painters of the late sixth and fifth centuries BCE were innovative in their portrayals of myths about Zeus and his eagle such as in the myths of Prometheus bound, Ganymede, and the battle between the gods and giants. Two of the most iconic images of the eagle of

Zeus known from the Classical period were made by Athenian sculptors: the chryselephantine cult statue of Zeus at Olympia by Pheidias and the bronze statue of Ganymede and the eagle by Leochares. Although neither survives from antiquity, their fame is noted by ancient writers and their images are echoed in later Greek and Roman artworks. In Hellenistic times, the eagle of Zeus bearing a thunderbolt became a potent symbol, employed on coinage and other royal propaganda, of the sovereign power of Hellenistic kings, most notably the Ptolemies, who wished to link themselves to Alexander the Great and his divine father Zeus.

NOTES

1. This article is dedicated to John Camp, mentor and friend, who has done so much to enrich our understanding of classical Athens. Like many American archaeologists of my generation, I first visited the altar of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion in its magnificent natural setting with John Camp on a field trip organized by the American School of Classical Studies as part of its year-long program of study. I first heard Pausanias's description of the altar as John read it from his well-worn copy of Pausanias at the site atop the mountain. In his on-site lectures in Greece and Turkey that year, John always made use of the ancient literary sources as well as the archaeological evidence. My article is a small tribute to that balanced method of inquiry and to a man who taught me a great deal about how to excavate in the Athenian Agora.

For assistance with images, I am grateful to Jan Jordan at the Agora Excavations, Sophie Descamps and Brigitte Tailliez at the Louvre, and Julie Zeftel and Neal Stimler at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I would also like to thank the editors, Kevin Daly and Lee Ann Riccardi, for inviting me to participate in this volume, the anonymous reviewers for their comments, Thomas P. Campbell, Director, and Carlos A. Picón, Curator-in-Charge of the Department of Greek and Roman Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for their support, my colleagues Elizabeth J. Milleker, Joan R. Mertens, and Christopher S. Lightfoot as well as Daniel Berger, Matthew Noiseux, Andrew Greene and Allia Benner for their kind assistance, and especially Colette Czapski Hemingway. The ideas expressed herein and any errors remain my own.

2. See John Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), 76–79. Nine species of eagle are known to have existed in Greece at least up to the early twentieth century. See D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 2; W. Geoffrey Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 3, lists eight common species of eagle in Greece until the nineteenth century.

3. See, for example, an Archaic Greek, eight-sided, cone-shaped, chalcedony gem in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession no. 41.160.444 (Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue of Engraved Gems. Greek, Etruscan and Roman* [Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2006], 16, no. 63, plate 10).

4. See, for example, an Archaic Island gem in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Richter, *Engraved Gems*, 3, no. 9, plate 2) and two Classical Greek gems in John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 289, plates 494, 495.

5. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 2006.267. Provenance: Alfred E. Mirsky, New York, until 1974; sale, Christie's New York, June 16, 2006, lot 70, illustrated. See Joan R. Mertens, "Recent Acquisitions. A Selection: 2006–2007," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 65 (2007): 7. On the type, see Jean Ducat, *Les Vases Plastiques Rhodiens Archaïques en Terre Cuite* (Paris: F. de Boccard, 1966), 113–115, plates 15-16.

6. London, The British Museum, accession no. E802. From Capua, Italy. *ARV*^{2}, 446.261; Diana M. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris, A Master Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 169–170, no. 428, plate 115, although she identifies it as the head of a vulture. Campanian eagle head rhytons have also been found in Capua and may have been inspired by Attic imports like the rhyton attributed to Douris. See, for example, Capua, Museo Campano, inv. no. 8382, see Paolino Mingazzini, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Italia*, vol. 44, *Capua, Museo Campano*, part 4 (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1969), 17, section 4B, no. 9, plate 9.9.

7. See, for example, ANS, accession nos. 1944.100.48554, 1944.100.58009, 1977.158.591. These coins and all the others cited in this article from the ANS are published with illustrations on their online collection database at www.amnumsoc.org/. See also *BMC Caria*, nos. 1–5, plate 35; Yannis Touratsoglou and Eos Tsourti, *The Aegean of the Coins* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1999), 98–99; *BMC Cyprus*, nos. 4-9, plate 7.

8. See, for example, the multiple gold eagle motif used as decoration for clothing in burials of the fourth century BCE at Vani (Jennifer Y. Chi, ed., *Wine, Worship, and Sacrifice: The Golden Graves of Ancient Vani* (New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, 2008), 189, plate 42).

9. In one of Aesop's fables, the eagle is hit by an arrow feathered with one of its own plumes and it cries out that we often give our enemies the means for our own destruction (Aesop, *Aesop's Fables*, trans. with introduction and notes by Laura Gibbs [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002], no. 43). The eagle is featured in quite a number of Aesop's fables without any explicit reference to Zeus. See, for example, Aesop, *Aesop's Fables*, trans. Gibbs, nos. 50, 57, 73, 111, 112, 128, 154, and 155.

10. See Richard Stoneman, "The 'Theban Eagle,'" *Classical Quarterly* 26 (1976): 188-197. Pindar also refers to Zeus's eagle. In his first Pythian ode (lines 5-10) for Hieron of Aitna, winner of the chariot race, 470 BCE, Pindar describes the soothing effect of Apollo's music on the eagle of Zeus: "You quench even the warring thunderbolt of ever flowing fire; and the eagle sleeps on the scepter of Zeus, having relaxed its swift wings on either side, the king of birds, for you have poured over his curved head a black-hooded cloud, sweet seal for his eyelids. And as he slumbers, he ripples his supple back, held in check by your volley of notes." Pindar, *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*, trans. and ed. William H. Race (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 213.

11. Pausanias recalls seeing the tomb of Nisus at Athens behind the Lyceum. Paus. 1.19.5.

12. William Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1849), 1048.

13. George Mylonas, "The Eagle of Zeus," *Classical Journal* 41 (1946): 203-207.

14. See Katie Demakopoulou, ed., *Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenos: Heinrich Schliemann, the 100th Anniversary of His Death* (Athens: Ministry of Culture of Greece, 1990), 310–311, no. 262. The splayed double eagle pendants of a necklace from Shaft Grave 5 in Circle A at Mycenae most likely represent hunting trophies where the eagles have been cleft down the middle and spread for maximum effect. I am grateful to Patrick Hemingway for this suggestion.

15. See John Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 124, 126.

16. University of Pennsylvania Museum, "New Discoveries At The Ash Altar Of Zeus Offer Insights Into Origins Of Ancient Greece's Most Powerful God," *Science Daily*, January 28, 2008, www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2008/01/080123114601.htm; John Noble Wilford, "An Altar Beyond Olympus for a Deity Predating Zeus," *The New York Times*, February 5, 2008, www.nytimes.com/2008/02/05/science/05zeus.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0; Brian Handwerk, "Worship at Zeus's 'Birthplace' Predates the Greek God," *National Geographic News*, January 25, 2008, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/01/080125-zeus-altar.html.

17. Paus. 8.38.7. It is not clear from Pausanias's description how early the eagles that flank the altar are. Pausanias, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, trans, with commentary, James G. Frazer (London: MacMillan and Co., 1913), 385, suggests that the columns were set up for the purposes of determining the solstices and equinoxes and, if he is correct, may reflect a very early practice.

18. See Rudolf Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1939): 293-325, especially page 324.

19. The cult of Diktaian Zeus may have Minoan antecedents. See J. Alexander MacGillivray, Jan Driessen, and L. Hugh Sackett, eds., *The Palaikastro Kouros. A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean Bronze Age Context* (London: British School at Athens, 2000), especially pages 149–162 and 167–169; Sean Hemingway, "The Minoan Bronze Votive Statuette of a Woman at the Harvard University Art Museums," in *Teaching with Objects: The Curatorial Legacy of David Gordon Mitten*, ed. Amy Brauer, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Art Museum, 2010), 142–147.

20. The earliest recorded version of this myth is in Hesiod's *Theogony*, 521–527. For a discussion with references to earlier scholarship, see Mieke Prent, *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults. Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 591–596.

21. On the Idaian cave, see John Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford. The Dictaean Cave and Iron Age Crete* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 79–88; Hartmut Matthäus, "Die Idaische Zeus-Grotte auf Kreta. Griechenland und der Vordere Orientin frühen, vol. 1, Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *Archäologische Anzeiger* (2000): 517–547; Prent, *Cretan Sanctuaries*, especially pages 158–160, 314–318, and 565–604.

22. Herakleion, National Archaeological Museum, accession no. 9. See Emil Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1931), 32, plate 49; Fulvio

Calcani, *Bronzi orientali e orientalizzanti a Creta nell'VIII e VII sec. A.C.* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1970), 28, no. 74, 55, 142, 146; Gail L. Hoffman, *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 160–165.

23. Herakleion, National Archaeological Museum, accession no. 8. See Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, 6, no. 1, plates 1–2, 26; Calcani, *Bronzi*, 20, no. 1. For a summary of differing dates for this and the other bronzes from the Idaian cave, see Hoffman, *Imports and Immigrants*, 160–161; John Nicolas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece, 900-700 B.C.*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 288.

24. The Roman writer Lucian (*Dialogi Marini* 15.3) relates a myth that links Minos to Zeus as his son born in a cave of his union with Europa. See Hemingway, "Minoan Bronze," 146. In other preserved myths (e.g. Hdt. 7.170.1; Diod. Sic. 4.79.1–3) about Minos, he meets an inglorious end in Sicily seeking Daedalos. See Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 275, but the early tradition on Crete, no longer preserved, is likely to have been more reverent of their great early ruler.

25. The goat is sometimes represented in later art on the subject. See *LIMC* 8:317, no. 15, s.v. Zeus (Jean Balty et al.).

26. Coldstream acknowledges that the bronze shields likely represent local myths relating to the cult of Zeus. See Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 287.

27. See Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, 152–166.

28. Vatican City, Etruscan Gregorian Museum, Vatican Museums, accession no. 16592. See Nikolaos Kaltsas, ed., *Athens-Sparta* (New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2006), 130, no. 40; Maria Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C.*, (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Committee for Archaeology, 1987), 34–35, no. 92. For a discussion of the seventh-century representations, including a Laconian ivory, an engraved Island gem, and a painting on a Corinthian aryballos, see Pipili, *Laconian Iconography*, 35; *LIMC* 8:536–539, nos. 23–53, s.v. Prometheus (Jean Balty et al.).

29. Paris, Musée du Louvre, accession no. E668. The figure of Zeus has also been identified as representing a cult image of Zeus from Mount Lykaion, Olympia, or Sparta. See discussion in Pipili, *Laconian Iconography*, 46–47.

30. See Emily Katz Anhalt, "Barrier and Transcendence: The Door and the Eagle in *Iliad* 24.314–21," *Classical Quarterly* 45 (1995): 280–295. Mylonas, "Eagle," 203, downplays the association between the eagle and Zeus in Homer, yet this example is quite clear. Mylonas argues that since the bird only acts as a messenger and does not seem to be the god's constant attribute, as in later art, the association is late. However, I suggest that the literary references in Homer and Hesiod clearly do support an early association between Zeus and the eagle. The eagle as messenger from Zeus to Homer himself is alluded to in a late third-century BCE Alexandrian relief, known as the "Apotheosis of Homer" and now in the collection of the British Museum. See Lucilla Burn, *Hellenistic Art: From Alexander the Great to Augustus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), 135–136, figure 76.

31. Chariot with scenes from the life of the Greek hero Achilles, Etruscan, Archaic, ca. second quarter of the sixth century BCE. Found near Monteleone di Spoleto in 1902. Bronze inlaid with ivory, H. 131.1 cm, L. of pole 208.9 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.1). See Carlos

Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 278–281, 470–471, no. 323; Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 167-169, figures 149a-149b; Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes* (New York: The Gilliss Press, 1915), 17–29, no. 40.

32. On *Prometheus Bound*, see Stephen V. Tracy, "*Prometheus Bound* 114–117," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 75 (1971): 59–62; Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Zeus, Prometheus, and Greek Ethics," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101 (2003): 49–72, especially page 67. Lloyd-Jones discusses the debate over whether *Prometheus Bound* is by Aeschylus or an unknown playwright and whether it might have been written in Syracuse and first performed there.

33. Aristophanes, *Peace*, lines 67–81, 120–150. See Aristophanes, *Works*, vol. 2, *Clouds, Wasps, Peace*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 437. Aristophanes also refers to the fable in *Wasps*, line 144, and *Lysistrata*, line 695. See Malcolm Davies and Jeyaraney Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 11–-12, 86–89. In his play, *Birds*, line 510 and following, Aristophanes describes the particular bird attributes of the various gods and associates the eagle with Zeus (lines 514–516): "PEISE-TAERUS: But the most impressive proof of all is that Zeus, the current king, stands there with an eagle on his head as an emblem of his royalty, as does his daughter with an owl, and Apollo, being a servant, with a hawk." Aristophanes, *Works*, vol. 3, *Birds, Lysistrata, Women at the Thesmophoria*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 91. I am grateful to Kevin Daly for bringing this reference to my attention.

34. See Aesop, *Aesop's Fables*, trans. Gibbs, no. 153.

35. On the subject of Herakles and his bow, see Beth Cohen, "From Bowman to Clubman: Herakles and Olympia," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 695–715.

36. *LIMC* 7:425, nos. 67, 69, s.v. Prometheus (Jean Balty et al.).

37. See, for example, a black-figure skyphos krater and stand, attributed to the Nessos Painter. From Vari, Attica. Greek, Attic, ca. 625–575 BCE. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, accession no. 16384. See John Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 22, figure 6.

38. This calyx-krater is considered a red-figure work from early in the artist's career and is dated to ca. 490–480 BCE. It is illustrated in Dietrich von Bothmer, ed. *Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 156–157; Elizabeth M. Langridge, "The Eucharides Painter and His Place in the Athenian Potters' Quarter" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1993), catalogue 344–345, no. E4, plates. 8, 9, and plate 103 top; Cohen, "From Bowman to Clubman," 699, figure 7; J. M. Hemelrijk, "Zeus' Eagle," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 76 (2001): 119, figure 9. Formerly in the collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy, New York, the vase was repatriated to Italy in 2008 and is now the property of the Republic of Italy under the auspices of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per Archeologia. On the Eucharides painter, see also Elizabeth Langridge-Noti, "Pondering the Painter: The Panathenaic Amphorae Attributed to the Eucharides Painter," in *Panathenaïka: Symposion zu den Panathenaïschen Preisamphoren,*

Rauischholzhausen 25.11.–29.11.1998, ed. Martin Bentz and Norbert Eschbach (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), 75–82.

39. Paris, Musée du Louvre, accession no. G204. Found in a tomb at Vulci. *ARV*², 202.90; *LIMC* 8:324-325, no. 68, plate 223, s.v. Zeus (Jean Balty et al.); Edmond Pottier, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum France*, vol. 9, *Paris, Louvre*, part 6 (Paris: Musée nationaux, Palais du Louvre, 1929), 3.1c.29, pages 416–417, plates 37.8–9, 38.1–2; Karim W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus. A Study in Art and Literature*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 17, plate 1a-b. On the bronzes, see George W. Elderkin, "Bronze Statuettes of Zeus Keraunios," *AJA* 44 (1940): 225–233. See also Bothmer, *Glories of the Past*, 107.

40. For a particularly good example on an Attic red-figure krater in the archaeological museum in Ferrara, Italy, accession no. 2892, see Arafat, *Classical Zeus*, plate 5b. For the Pergamon altar, see Andrew F. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 211, plate 694.

41. Athens, Agora Museum, accession no. P7947. See Gerald van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), 83, catalogue no. 185, plates 381-382. Burn does not discuss the piece in her monograph on the Meidias Painter but she makes clear that her catalogue is not exhaustive and leaves out many fragmentary vases. Lucilla Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), vii.

42. The practice of applying gilding for certain details on Athenian red-figure vases came into vogue in the late fifth century BCE and continued into the fourth century BCE for finer vases as can be seen on examples in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

43. Attic pottery also influenced the development of Etruscan red-figure vase painting, where representations of the eagle of Zeus can also be found. See, for example, an Etruscan red-figure kylix of the fourth century BCE with a representation on its tondo of Zeus seated by an altar with the eagle perched on it. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, accession no. 242, see Tobias Fischer-Hansen, *Corpus vasorum antiquorum Danemark*, vol. 10, *Copenhague--Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, part 1. (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2004), 141–142, plate 115.1–2.

44. See Gisela M. A. Richter, "Department of Classical Art—Recent Accessions," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7 (1912): 97, figure 5; Karl Schefold, "Statuen auf Vasenbildern," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 52 (1937): 61, figure 19, and identified as small eagle on page 60; Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 3, *Zeus, God of the Dark Sky: Earthquakes, Clouds, Wind, Dew, Rain, Meteorites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 1052, figure 847; Konrad Schauenburg, "Die Göttin mit dem Vogelszepter," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 82 (1975), 213, n. 42. See also Hemelrijk, "Zeus' Eagle," 115–121, for a discussion of eagle and other bird finials on scepters. While Hemelrijk does not discuss this piece, he notes that there are many examples of small eagle finials represented on South Italian vases.

45. See Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 1, *Zeus, God of the Bright Sky* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 105–106, figure 76. Zeus takes the form of an eagle in a number of myths, such as when he wooed Aegina who begat Aeacus from their union on the island that came to bear her name. See also some versions of the Ganymede myth discussed above. In another

myth the Attic autochthon Periphas, a priest of Apollo, was made king and his fame rivaled Zeus who then transformed him into an eagle (Ov., *Met*. 7.400).

46. Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 79-90; Gisela M. A. Richter, "The Pheidian Zeus at Olympia," *Hesperia* 35 (1966): 170, plate 54, notes that a carnelian gem in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, is a particularly faithful representation of the Phidian Zeus. The gem features an eagle at the foot of the throne as well as an eagle as the finial of his staff. Hemelrijk, "Zeus' Eagle," 117, notes that there were earlier artistic representations of Zeus with an eagle surmounting his staff before Phidias's Zeus.

47. On the later history of the chryselephantine statue, see Sarah G. Bassett, "'Excellent Offerings': The Lausos Collection in Constantinople," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 6–25, especially pages 9–10.

48. See, for example, ANS, accession no. 1944.100.37749. See also Peter G. van Alfen, *A Simple Souvenir. Coins and Medals of the Olympic Games* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2004), 39–41, especially numbers 6, 7, 9–11; *BMC Peloponnesos*, no. 2, plate 13. The eagle, the head of Zeus, and the thunderbolt were the three most popular motifs occurring on the coinage minted for use at Olympia. See Charles T. Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1921), 2-6, plates 1–12.

49. See Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 3, especially pages 688-694, plate 58; Evelyn B. Harrison, "Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon." *AJA* 71 (1967): 27–58, especially page 31, plate 16, figure 10.

50. Olga Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), especially pages 18–39.

51. Jenifer Neils, "Reconfiguring Gods on the Parthenon Frieze," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 16–17, figure 22, notes that the Julio-Claudian *Gemma Augustea* illustrates a seated Augustus that recalls Zeus on the Parthenon frieze and includes an eagle under his throne as a direct allusion to Jupiter.

52. Plin., *HN* 34.79. The composition of the statue has traditionally been identified in a marble Roman table leg in the Vatican. See Brunilde S. Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 247 and 248–250, plate 58. An interesting comparison for our understanding of the dynamic quality of Leochares's statue is the bronze statue of a dancing satyr recently discovered in the sea off the coast of Sicily and now displayed in the Museum of the Dancing Satyr in Mazara del Vallo, Sicily. The dancing satyr (most likely a Late Classical or Early Hellenistic work) exhibits a daring pose in bronze of a mythological subject that is still imbued with a reverential religious quality. See Alain Pasquier, Jean-Luc Martinez, and Michel Amandry, *Praxitèle* (Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 284–291, with previous bibliography.

53. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 37.11.8–.9. Said to be from near Thessaloniki. See Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 440, no. 197. See also Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World* (New York: Abrams, 1994), 74–79, with previous bibliography.

54. Ovid tells us that Zeus changed himself into an eagle to abduct the Trojan prince Ganymede (Thomas H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* [London: Thames & Hudson, 1991], 40), and the subject continued to be a popular one into

Roman times. See Elaine Gazda, "Ganymede and the Eagle: A Marble Group from Carthage," *Archaeology* 34 (1981): 56–60. In moralized versions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, beginning in the fourteenth-century, the abduction and ravishment of Ganymede by Zeus came to be interpreted as the union of the soul with God. See, for example, two early sixteenth-century Italian engravings of the rape of Ganymede in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession nos. 37.3.10, 25.2.9, available at www.metmuseum.org.

55. Another airborne subject that became a popular type in Hellenistic jewelry was the flying Eros. See Monica M. Jackson, *Hellenistic Gold Eros Jewellery: Technique, Style and Chronology* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

56. See Olga Palagia, *Euphranor* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 33; Paul Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen : Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), 110–112, plates 81, nos. 3–6, 82, nos. 1–2. On Euphranor, see also Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles*, 336.

57. See Aleksandr V. Kruglov, Ганимед с орлом: Искусство двухфигурной композиции, Каталог выставки (Saint Petersburg: Gos. Érmitazh, 2008), especially pages 182-193 and 214-215. See also *LIMC* 6:154–169, especially pages 159–166, s.v. Ganymedes (Hellmut Sichtermann).

58. Philip II commemorated the event by having a silver tetradrachm minted that year with a victorious horseman on the reverse and the head of Zeus on the obverse and additional issues were minted posthumously. See Sean Hemingway, *The Horse and Jockey from Artemision: A Bronze Equestrian Monument of the Hellenistic Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 126, figure 68.

59. Arrian, *Anab*. 2.3; Curt. 3.1.14–18; Plut., *Vit. Alex* 18.1–2

60. See Ernst A. Fredricksmeyer, "Alexander, Zeus Ammon and the Conquest of Asia," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121 (1991): 199–214; Albert B. Bosworth, "Alexander and Ammon," in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory: Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Konrad H. Kinzl (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 51–75; Jeffrey H. Shanks, "Alexander the Great and Zeus Ammon: A New Interpretation of the *Phalerae* from Babyna Mogila," *Ancient West and East* 4 (2005): 146–159. The sanctuary of Zeus Ammon was important to the Greeks long before Alexander visited it. Zeus Ammon was also honored with public rites at Athens in 333 BCE, see Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 1, 362, n. 6.

61. Plut., *Vit. Alex*. 33, Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 7, *Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 323, 325. This passage recalls on a much larger scale the iconography on the Monteleone chariot (Figure 4.2).

62. See, for example, ANS, accession nos. 1947.98.326, 1947.98.327, 1944.100.35623, 1944.100.35229, 1965.77.128, 1944.100.33864. See also *BMC Arabia*, no. 5, plate 50. On the coinage of Alexander, see Martin J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue* (Zurich: Swiss Numismatic Society, 1991); Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, *Alexander's Coins and Alexander's Image* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), especially pages 27, 32–34, and 51–56.

63. See, for example, ANS, accession no. 1959.254.86; *BMC Arabia*, no. 18, plate 22; Andrew F. Stewart, *Faces of Power. Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 203, figures 68–69.

64. See Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 191–209, figures 66–67.

65. See, for example, ANS, accession no. 1944.100.75948. See also *BMC Ptolemies*, no. 4, plate 6; nos. 3, 5, plate 15; On the importance of the iconography of Zeus Ammon in Ptolemaic royal art, see Christian-Georges Schwentzel, "L'iconographie de Zeus-Ammon dans le royaume lagide et dans l'Empire romain," in *Faraoni come dei, Tolemei same faraoni. Atti del V Congresso internazionale italo-egiziano, Torino, Archivo di stato, 8–12 dicembre 2001*, ed. Nicola Bonacasa (Torino: Museo Egizio, 2003), 496–507, especially page 498. See also André Laronde, "Zeus Ammon en Libye," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 3, *Etudes isiaques*, ed. Catherine Berger-El-Naggar, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal (Cairo: IFAO, 1994), 331–338; Anna Maria Bisi, "Origine e Diffusione del Culto Cirenaico di Zeus Ammon," in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity. Papers Presented at the Colloquium on Society and Economy in Cyrenaica, Cambridge March-April 1983*, ed. Graeme Barker, John Lloyd, and Joyce Reynolds (Oxford: B. A. R., 1985), 307–317.

66. See Thompson, *Greek Birds*, 7.

67. See *LIMC* 1:666–689, especially page 680, nos. 127–128, s.v. Ammon (Jean Leclant and Gisèle Clerc). See also Mette Moltesen, *Catalogue Imperial Rome*, vol. 3, *Ny Carlsberg glyptotek, Katalog* (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 2005), 74–77.

68. See, for example, ANS, accession nos. 1944.100.75470 and 1944.100.75967. See also *BMC Ptolemies*, no. 1, plate 1; nos. 1–7, plate 2.

69. See Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage. From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–186 B.C.)* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 105, plate 19, no. 302. See also *BMC Ptolemies*, nos 2, 6, plate 10. Ptolemy II also features a double cornucopia on some of his issues.

70. Zeus in the form of an eagle came from Crete to Naxos, where he was nurtured. When he set out from Naxos to battle the Titans, he offered sacrifice and received a good omen in the form of an eagle which appeared bringing thunderbolts. He placed the bird among the stars. See Aglaosthenes, *Naxiaca*, frag. 2 (*FGrH* 4.293).

71. See, for example, ANS, accession nos. 1967.152.651 (Ptolemy IV with eagle); 1944.100.78654 (Ptolemy V, head of Isis with eagle); 1944.100.78780 (Ptolemy VI with eagle). See also *BMC Ptolemies*, nos. 1–2, plate 15; nos. 7-9, plate 18; nos. 1, 5–8, plate 19; nos. 1–2, plate 20.

72. See, for example, ANS, accession nos. 1964.79.7, 1966.75.37 (Perseus and eagle); 1967.152.664 (Tryphon and eagle); 1948.19.2448 (Demetrius II and eagle). See also *BMC Galatia*, no. 4, plate 20. Various Hellenistic kings also represent images of Zeus and the eagle opposite their portraits on their coinage. See, for example, ANS, accession nos. 1960.60.4 (Mithradates III and Zeus seated holding eagle and scepter); 1954.203.171 (Prusias II and Zeus standing with eagle). See also *BMC Pontus*, no. 2, plate 8; nos. 1–2, plate 38.

73. The eagle appears on coinage from numerous Cretan city-states, including Chersonesos (Johannes N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* [Macon, 1890], 52, no. 6, plate 4); Cnosus (Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 82–86, nos. 18–22, plate 7); Gortyn (e.g. Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 174, nos. 1-3, plate 16); Ierapytna (Svoronos, *Numismatique*, plate 17; Nikos Papadakis, *Ierapetra, Bride of the Libyan Sea: A Historical, Archaeological and Cultural Guide* [Ierapetra, 1986] 26); Itanos (Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 205-206, nos. 10–15, 17–18, 20–21, 24, plate 19), which governed

the sanctuary to Diktaian Zeus; Lyttos (Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 230–235, plate 21–22), Olous (Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 249, no. 23, plate 22); and Praisos (Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 287, plate 27).

74. See Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 289, nos. 25–28, plate 27.

75. Plin. *HN* 12.5.11.

76. See Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 166–167, plate 14, nos. 16-19, plate 15, nos. 1–2, 5–7.

77. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Milton Weil, 1932, accession no. 32.142.2. See James D. Draper, "Cameo Appearances," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 65 (2008): 12, no. 12; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, 121–122, no. 604, plate 66. The eagle grasps a thunderbolt in its talons.

78. For example, the apotheosis of the emperor Augustus appears in this way on an onyx gem in the royal museum of Paris. A similar representation can be found on the arch of Titus on which Titus is represented as being carried to the skies on an eagle. The emperor Caracalla also ascends to heaven on the back of an eagle in a cameo in Nancy. Jean-Jacques Aillagon, Umberto Roberto, and Yann Riviére, eds., *Rome and the Barbarians. The Birth of A New World* (Milan: Skira, 2008), 84-85, no. 1.21.

5

Solon's Property Classes on the Athenian Acropolis? A Reconsideration of *IG* 1^3.831 and *Ath. Pol.* 7.4

Catherine M. Keesling

Solon's reforms of the early sixth century BCE—constitutional, legal, economic, and social in scope—continue to inspire lively debate among historians and archaeologists of Archaic and Classical Athens.[1] Fundamental to any attempt to understand what Solon did and why is the description, appearing in the seventh chapter (7.3–4) of the *Athenaion Politeia* ascribed to Aristotle or one of his students, of Solon's division of the Athenian population into four classes (τέλη) based upon agricultural produce: the *pentacosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, *zeugitai*, and *thetes*. According to the author of the *Ath. Pol.*, the *pentacosiomedimnoi* derived their name from an agricultural output amounting to 500 dry and liquid measures. The *hippeis* and the *zeugitai*, despite the obvious derivation of their names from horsemen and "yokemen" respectively, in the *Ath. Pol.* are assigned 300 and 200 measures according to the same criteria, while the lowest class of the *thetes* encompassed the remainder of the Athenian citizenry. The Solonian class system, as we know it from the *Ath. Pol.* and a handful of other sources of the Classical period, raises a host of questions without definitive answers. Were the Solonian τέλη really economically defined, as the *Ath. Pol.* would lead us to believe, or were they originally military in significance, with economic qualifications added later—even as late as the mid-fifth century BCE?[2] Were the *zeugitai* intended to be of middling wealth and status, or were they originally elite landowners, eclipsed only by the even smaller and wealthier classes of the *pentacosiomedimnoi* and the *hippeis*?[3] And when exactly did the system of census classes described by the *Ath. Pol.* cease to be observed in any meaningful way?[4]

Two private dedications on the Athenian Acropolis seem to attest to the use of Solon's class distinctions in the fifth century BCE, and both are ripe for reconsideration. The first is a marble bowl dated to ca. 480–470 BCE and inscribed on its rim with a metrical epigram, *IG* 1^3.831=*DAA* no. 372=*CEG* 269. Though the dedicator's name and patronymic cannot be recovered from the fragmentary inscription, he seems to describe himself as a *zeugites*, and for this reason the dedication has been cited as evidence for the Solonian τέλη in the period soon after the Persian Wars. The marble bowl itself served as a support for a lost bronze bowl or *lebes*. In the fifth century, such bronze bowls were awarded as prizes in funeral games, and I will suggest that victory in such a contest, rather than membership in the Solonian *zeugitai*, was the occasion for dedicating a bronze *lebes* with an inscribed marble support on the Acropolis. The second Acropolis dedication, that of Anthemion, son of Diphilos, is known from *Ath. Pol.* (7.4) and consists of a man standing next to a horse. This monument is used by some as evidence to argue that Solon's *hippeis* derived their name from the fact that they were wealthy enough to keep horses. Though no inscribed base for this statue group has been found, the *Ath. Pol.* quotes a dedicatory epigram, consisting of two pentameters, supposedly inscribed on the base; the second line of this epigram seems to refer to the dedicator's elevation from the class of the *thetes* to the class of the *hippeis*.[5] Both the statue group and the inscribed epigram have defied simple explanations. The solution I will pursue here explains the second metrical line quoted by the *Ath. Pol.* as a satirical verse associated with a prominent dedication on the Acropolis known at the time the *Ath. Pol.* was written (in the 320s BCE).

IG 1^3.831 (=*DAA* NO. 372 = *CEG* 269): *ZEUGITES* OR VICTORIOUS ATHLETE?

The dedication included by A.E. Raubitschek in his Acropolis catalogue as *DAA* no. 372 consists of eight fragments combined to comprise three non-joining sections of the rim of a Pentelic marble basin, now in the collections of the Epigraphical Museum (inv. no. 6444).[6] A dedicatory text is inscribed retrograde around the basin's rim (Figure 5.1). Though the text is incompletely preserved, it is clearly metrical, consisting either of two hexameters or of a single elegiac couplet. Since the lacunae between the fragments do not seem large enough to allow the restoration of a full hexameter in the second metrical line, an elegiac couplet has always been preferred to two hexameters.[7] The use of Pentelic marble and the discovery of three fragments of the bowl before the systematic Acropolis excavations of the 1880s support a date after 480; the more precise dating

Figure 5.1. Drawing of IG 1³.831 (EM 6444 = *DAA* no. 372), inscribed on rim of marble bowl. After *DAA*, 400.
Permission granted by the family of A.E. Raubitschek.

of ca. 480–470 BCE suggested by the editors of *IG* 1³ is a guess based upon a general impression of the letter forms, some of which still look Archaic (alpha with slanting crossbar; double-triangle beta; and slanting, asymmetrical nu).[8] The version of the text printed in *IG* 1³ reads as follows:

— — — με πατ[ὲρ — — —]ελο ἀνέθε[κ]εν / Βο[— — ζευ]χ̣ίτες Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ].

Though the extant fragments float and the spacing between the letters is notably uneven, the phrase Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ] ("to Pallas Tritogenes") fits easily as a hemiepes at the end of the pentameter of an elegiac couplet. Peter A. Hansen (*CEG* 269) placed the extant fragments in

Figure 5.2. Join of fragments f and g of IG 1^3.831 (EM 6444 = *DAA* no. 372). The partially preserved first letter of the retrograde text has been read as gamma in *zeugites*.
Photo C.M. Keesling

the same order as Raubitschek had, suggesting modest supplements that would make the dedication refer to the fulfillment of a vow to Athena by a man who calls himself a *zeugites*:

[?εὐχσάμενός] με πατ[ὲρ ?καὶ ?παῖς (∪)]έλο ἀνέθε[κ]εν
Βõ[λος ζευ]χίτες Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ].

Having made a vow, Bolos the *zeugites*, father and son of -elos,
dedicated me to Pallas Tritogenes.[9]

The use of the Attic alphabet, with epsilon for eta, and probably also omicron for omega and omicron-upsilon, is evident enough on the fragments that remain; the fact that the text is metrical severely limits both the possibilities for rearranging the fragments and the options for restoration. Though on other Acropolis dedications the same metrical phrase Παλλάδι τριτογενεῖ also appears at the beginning rather than the end of a pentameter, this option should probably be rejected because it would awkwardly break up the formula in which the dedicator gives his name and his father's name.[10] It remains possible to place Παλλάδι τριτογενεῖ at the beginning of the first verse, a hexameter, but this metrical rearrangement would also place [ζευ]χίτες at the very end of the second verse, at the same time requiring that this second verse be restored as a hexameter rather than a shorter pentameter.

What is unique about the epigram is the dedicator's unprecedented and unparalleled reference to himself as a [ζευ]γίτης, a member of Solon's third property class. It has even been inferred, by analogy with the second dedication discussed here (the Anthemion monument described by *Ath. Pol.* 7.4), that the individual who dedicated *IG* 1^3.831 did so to commemorate his upward mobility from a lowly *thes* to a *zeugites*.[11] In this interpretation, both the marble bowl from the Acropolis and the more monumental dedication of Anthemion demonstrate, at the very least, the continuing currency of the census classes established by Solon in the fifth century BCE and even later: if the τέλη were not still in active use, there would have been neither necessity nor opportunity to move upward from one *telos* to another.

But what did it mean to be a *zeugites* in the second quarter of the fifth century? The testimonia for the *zeugitai* in fifth-century Athens suggest that their social and economic status had declined since the time of Solon. According to *Ath. Pol.* 26.2, the archonship was not opened up to *zeugitai* until 458/7 BCE; the Athenian cleruchy of the third quarter of the fifth century at Thracian Brea (*IG* 1^3.46) was open to participation by both *zeugitai* and *thetes*, which seems to imply that the *zeugitai* were considered economically middling.[12] Kurt Raaflaub has recently argued that the property qualifications for the four Solonian τέλη, as laid out by the author of the *Ath. Pol.*, were implemented only in the mid-fifth century, later than the date assigned to this supposed Acropolis dedication by a *zeugites* (ca. 480–470 BCE), and that the *zeugitai* in the fifth century no longer constituted part of the Athenian elite.[13] A more radical position was taken by Geoffrey E. M. de Ste. Croix in a paper published in 2004, who argued "that Hippeis and Zeugitai were not qualified by 'measures' at all, either in Solon's original constitution or in the fifth and fourth centuries, but that a man's position as a member of one of these classes was determined by his military status, which in turn depended solely on his ability to perform cavalry or hoplite service."[14] If we accept the position that the *zeugitai* of the second quarter of the fifth century were simply qualified hoplites, rather than landowners producing 200 wet and dry measures, then the dedicator's self-identification as a *zeugites* becomes even more puzzling. Even if the dedicator of the marble bowl on the Acropolis really did move upward from the *thetes* to the *zeugitai*, it is difficult to explain why he would choose to identify himself as a *zeugites*, especially in a metrical dedicatory epigram, where conventional formulae and word choices were the norm.[15]

Though the reading [ζευ]γίτες in *IG* 1^3.831 is by now well established, the gamma was in fact seen only by Pittakes, who published facsimiles of two fragments of the inscription in the Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς for 1852 (page 681, nos. 1126 and 1127). All subsequent versions of the text

underline the gamma; the omission of the underline in Raubitschek's entry for *DAA* no. 372 is a simple oversight.[16] Raubitschek's drawing of the inscription (Figure 5.1), published in *DAA*, is somewhat misleading. As a photograph of the relevant fragment shows (Figure 5.2), the angle of the letter restored as the gamma in [ζευ]χ́ιτες is different than it appears in Raubitschek's drawing. Though we have no preserved gamma in the inscription with which to compare, it is still possible to observe that the stroke on the stone resembles closely two of the retrograde alphas elsewhere in the inscription. Thus autopsy of the stone raises the possibility that what Pittakes read as a gamma was in fact an alpha, and that -]άιτες rather than -]χ́ιτες should be read. Removing the word [ζευ]χ́ιτης from this text takes away the reference to Solon's third property class and destabilizes a metrical text already made uncertain by lacunae. Alternative restorations are difficult yet, I would maintain, not impossible.

Before rejecting the restoration [ζευ]χ́ιτης outright, it is worth wondering if it is possible that the dedicator meant to call himself a *zeugites* in some other sense than a member of Solon's third property class: a teamster or driver of a yoke of oxen, or even a hoplite. Some more surprising occupational designations than "teamster"—namely cobbler, bread-seller, carpenter, tanner, and fuller—are attested on Archaic and Classical dedications from Athens.[17] Yet, while *zeugites* should literally mean "teamster," the term seems never to have been used in this sense.[18] Though David Whitehead has collected references to hoplites in a phalanx as *zeugitai* ("those who are yoked"), the singular *zeugites* in this sense seems an unlikely epithet to inscribe on a votive dedication.[19] Specialized studies of Greek nouns ending in -ίτης turn up no other viable possibilities for either -γίτης or -αίτης: neither is attested as the ending of an Attic demotic, and both are very seldom encountered in ethnics.[20]

In any votive epigram, it is difficult to justify restoring more than the name and the patronymic of the dedicator; every other possibility—demotic, ethnic, class designation, occupation—is fundamentally prosaic, and seldom encountered in metrical texts.[21] Yet it seems that something in one of these categories is needed to meet the requirements of the text in *IG* 1^3.831. The word beginning in Bo-, Bω-, Bου-, or Bοι- is normally restored as the dedicator's name. If, however, we read -]άιτες rather than -]χ́ιτες, then this should be taken as the ending of the dedicator's name in the nominative; postponement of this name to the second metrical line is quite acceptable in an epigram. Since, according to the traditional restoration, the end of a patronymic in the genitive already appears elsewhere in the text (-ελο=-ελου), Bo- on the stone must be the beginning of something other than name or patronymic. I would suggest two possibilities, one more likely than the other: the ethnic Βοιωτός, and the Attic demotic Βουτάδης, from Βουτάδαι, the only Attic deme beginning in Bo-, Bω-, or

Βου-. Two objections to Βοιωτός are the unlikelihood of a self-identified Boiotian making a dedication on the Athenian Acropolis, and the dedicator's name, ending in -ης rather than -ας.[22] *LGPN* includes very few attested Attic names ending in -αίτες, and keeping the meter intact while restoring the demotic Βουτάδης restricts us to the only short enough option listed there, Δαΐτης. The following *exempli gratia* restoration results:

[?εὐχσάμενός] με πατ[ὲρ ?καὶ ?παῖς ∪]έλο ἀνέθε[κ]εν
Βο[τάδες Δ]αΐτες Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ].[23]

The unparalleled occurrence of the term *zeugites* in the inscription *IG* 1^3.831 has attracted enough attention to crowd out further consideration of the marble bowl itself. Though Raubitschek appended it to his catalogue of *perirrhanteria*, it is clearly too deep to have functioned as a water basin; it features a round echinus and an abacus above a kymation molding, with a row of round dentils below it.[24] Though it is clear that the bowl and supporting column were carved in one piece, so little of the column survives that we do not know its height, nor can we be sure it was fluted. As Lolling originally noted, the rough-picked surface at the center of the bowl was used to attach a bronze bowl without a foot within the marble bowl by means of lead soldering, the same technique used to attach the plinths of marble statues to their cuttings on the tops of statue bases.[25] The fragments we have of the inscribed marble bowl probably broke apart when the bronze bowl was pried out at an unknown date.

Bronze bowls (*lebetes*) were used on occasion in Archaic and Classical Athens to contain the ashes of the deceased, and in some cases they were mounted inside rectangular stone containers.[26] Votive bronze bowls, with or without tripod legs attached, are also attested in Athens and elsewhere, where they may have been associated either with animal sacrifice (bronze *lebes* cauldrons were used to boil sacrificial meat), or with athletic victory (*lebetes* were used as actual prizes in athletic contests). Most of the fifteen or so scrappy fragments of inscribed Archaic bronze *lebetes* catalogued as *IG* 1^3 nos. 550–558ter, 561bis, and 567–568, have votive inscriptions. The best evidence for the use of bronze *lebetes* as prizes consists of extant examples with identifying inscribed texts. In the sixth and fifth centuries, some of these prize *lebetes* were reused to hold cremation burials, while others were dedicated on the Acropolis and in other sanctuaries. Five Archaic *lebetes* inscribed (in the Boiotian and Euboean alphabets) as prizes from Boiotian funeral games have been found in Athens and Attica. Though private funeral games continue to be attested in the fifth century and later, all extant *lebetes* from them seem to date to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, too early to make them good comparanda for the lost bronze bowl supported by the marble bowl stand from the Acropolis.[27]

There are a few examples from the Acropolis of Doric columns and capitals with hollows for the insertion of bronze *lebetes*: one of these is *IG* 1^3.597 (*DAA* no. 317), a limestone Doric column and capital dedicated in the mid-sixth century BCE by Alkmeonides to commemorate victory in the *hippios dromos* and the pentathlon.[28] Parallels exist on the Acropolis for simple marble column bases for the display of footed bronze vessels such as hydriae, as well as possible parallels from other Greek sanctuaries for bronze or stone *lebetes* attached to column bases.[29] Interesting for my purposes are two bronze *lebetes*, one in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens and the other in the Louvre, inscribed as prizes from the official funeral games (ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών) held in the fifth century and later periods in honor of the dead at the battles of Marathon and Plataia.[30] The Kanellopoulos example, said to have been found at Marathon, where it was reused to hold a cremation burial, has a maximum diameter of 0.45 m, a perfect match for the diameter of the hollow at the center of the Acropolis marble bowl, as measured just inside the inscribed rim.[31] Thus the bronze *lebes* from Marathon, dated to ca. 480–470 BCE in *IG* 1^3, would fit into the Acropolis marble bowl in such a way that an inscription on the rim of the *lebes* would remain visible, supplemented by the dedicatory epigram inscribed on the rim of the marble bowl.

The dedication of a bronze *lebes* on the Acropolis, possibly a prize from the official ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών celebrated in the wake of the Persian Wars, is an intriguing possibility. I suggest here that the individual who made this dedication of a bronze bowl attached to an elaborate marble stand was not a member of Solon's *zeugitai*, but rather an Athenian athlete from the deme Boutadai who had won the *lebes* as a prize. If the hypotheses presented here are accepted, then the dedication *IG* 1^3 831 from the Athenian Acropolis no longer provides evidence for the use of the Solonian class designations in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE.

ATH. POL. 7.4: NOT DIPHILOS AND ANTHEMION, BUT PRONAPES AND AMYNIAS?

The importance of *Ath. Pol.* 7.4 as a source for Solon and his four property classes has already been mentioned. Worth quoting in full here is the part that describes Anthemion's inscribed Acropolis dedication:

> ἔδει δὲ τελεῖν πεντακοσιομέδιμνον μέν, ὃς ἂν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ποιῇ πεντακόσια μέτρα τὰ συνάμφω ξηρὰ καὶ ὑγρά, ἱππάδα δὲ τοὺς τριακόσια ποιοῦντας—ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι τοὺς ἱπποτροφεῖν δυναμένους·σημεῖον δὲ φέρουσι τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ τέλους, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦπράγματος κείμενον, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων·ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει εἰκὼν Διφίλου, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε·

Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς,
θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος.
καὶ παρέστηκεν ἵππος ἐκμαρτυρῶν, ὡς τὴν ἱππάδα τοῦτο σημαίνουσαν.

Whoever made 500 measures, dry and liquid together, had to be assessed as a *pentacosiomedimnos*, and the ones making 300 as the hippad class. As some say, these were men able to keep a horse; as evidence they cite the name of the class, saying that it was taken from this fact, and the dedications of men of old. For on the Acropolis there stands a portrait statue of Diphilos, upon which the following lines are inscribed:

Anthemion, son of Diphilos, dedicated this to the gods,
Having exchanged the thetic for the hippad class.
A horse also stands next to him, which proves that this is what the hippad class signifies.

Despite fundamental published discussions by Peter J. Rhodes and Geoffrey E.M. de Ste. Croix, this passage still raises more questions than it answers. The first problem is that the *Ath. Pol.* refers to a portrait statue (εἰκών) of Diphilos, while it is clear from the epigram that the dedicator was not Diphilos, but his son Anthemion. The slip may belong not to the author of the *Ath. Pol.*, but rather to a later copyist: Pollux, in his *Onomasticon* (8.131), in a passage clearly derived from *Ath. Pol.* 7.4, understood from the epigram that the statue on the Acropolis should represent Anthemion himself. Though an inscribed inventory of statues on the Acropolis in the mid-fourth century BCE mentions a statue dedicated by a man named Anthemion, this dedication does not match the *Ath. Pol.*'s description of a man standing next to a horse.[32] No other statue dedication by an Anthemion or a Diphilos on the Acropolis is attested before the late Hellenistic period. But the more glaring problem is that the Anthemion epigram, as quoted by *Ath. Pol.* 7.4, consists of two pentameters rather than a regular elegiac couplet. While a few epigraphical examples of single pentameters from the Archaic and Classical periods can be found, the combination of two pentameters never occurs at all in inscriptions.[33] Something has clearly gone wrong in the transmission of the Anthemion epigram from the stone to the text of the *Ath. Pol.*—if indeed the epigram was inscribed on a stone in the first place.[34]

Denys L. Page emended the first verse of the Anthemion epigram to make it into a proper hexameter: Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων <καὶ> τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖσ<ι>.[35] Even so, the use of θεοῖς in the plural in this verse makes it difficult to accept as an authentic quotation from a dedication of the Archaic or Classical period from the Acropolis, where we would naturally expect a dedication to Athena in the singular.[36] The difficulties only increase when we proceed to the epigram's second verse, which seems

to refer to the dedicator's upward mobility from the *thetes* to the *hippeis*. Rhodes, in his commentary on the *Ath. Pol.*, has cautioned that this verse provides the only explicit evidence we have that reassessments were ever a part of the Solonian class system.[37] Taking the second (pentameter) verse at face value naturally raises the question: why would the dedicator of an expensive statue group on the Athenian Acropolis choose to advertise the fact that he had once been a *thes*? On these grounds, and because the name of Diphilos, the dedicator Anthemion's father, seems far more plausible for an aristocrat than for a *thes*, Lillian H. Jeffery, in an unpublished article cited by Rhodes and de Ste. Croix, suggested that the pentameter line is a gloss on Anthemion's dedication, mistakenly made part of the dedicatory epigram either by the author of the *Ath. Pol.* or by a later copyist.[38] Jeffery accepted the authenticity of the first line, but translated the second line in an inverse sense, taking it as a reference to Anthemion's exchange of the hippad for the thetic class, and not the other way around. She conjectured that Anthemion, like Kimon in a famous anecdote in Plut., *Cimon* 5, was a well-born *hippeus* who voluntarily served as a marine in the Athenian navy in the fifth century, and who dedicated a statue of himself with a horse on the Acropolis to commemorate this act of patriotism.[39]

Even if Jeffery's reading, and her inference about Anthemion's naval service, seem excessive, her insight that the second metrical line quoted by the *Ath. Pol.* sounds like a gloss on the first remains valid. It neatly eliminates the problem of an epigram consisting of two pentameters: the second pentameter (at least) was never inscribed on a stone at all, whether we translate it "having exchanged the thetic for the hippad class" (the accepted translation of the Greek) or (with Jeffery), "having exchanged the hippad for the thetic class." But if this pentameter verse was not read by the author of the *Ath. Pol.* from a stone on the Athenian Acropolis, where did it come from?

I would suggest that the second line of the "epigram" quoted by the author of the *Ath. Pol.* makes the most sense as a fragment of satirical elegiac verse. There is some evidence for short, orally transmitted elegiac poems in social and political contexts in Archaic and Classical Athens. In his fundamental 1986 article on early Greek literary elegy, Ewen L. Bowie argued convincingly that the principal context for the performance of all but the longest elegiac poems was the symposium.[40] The author of the *Ath. Pol.* elsewhere quotes an Archaic example of a *skolion* or symposium drinking song, concerning a martyred opponent of the tyrants named Kedon (*Ath. Pol.* 20.5) in the elegiac meter, as evidence for the Peisistratid tyranny.[41] A possible parallel for the use of orally transmitted elegiac verses in the fifth century is close to hand. In 1940, an ostrakon featuring an elegiac couplet about Xanthippos, son of Arriphron, the father of Perikles, was found in the Athenian Agora excavations (Agora P 16873=*CEG* 439):

Χσάνθ[ιππον τόδε] φῆσὶν ἀλειτερῶν πρυτάνειοεν
τὄστρακ[ον Ἀρρί]φρονος παῖδα μά[λ]ιστ' ἀδικεν.

This ostrakon says that Xanthippos, son of Arriphron,
does the most wrong of the accursed *prytaneis*.

Though the Xanthippos epigram has been translated and interpreted in different ways since its initial publication, its purpose is clearly to lambaste as a corrupt politician Xanthippos who, according to *Ath. Pol.* 22, was ostracized in 485/4 BCE.[42] The example from the Agora of political slander in poetic form seems to be unique among ostraka, but this type of oral poetry in the form of elegiac couplets may have been common currency in Athenian politics of the fifth century.[43]

The author of the *Ath. Pol.* quotes the so-called Anthemion epigram as an inscribed dedication from the Acropolis boasting of the dedicator's rise from the Solonian class of the *thetes* to the class of the *hippeis*. What appears at first glance to be a straightforward statement about Anthemion's upward mobility might have originated as a joke about an individual whose wealth and social pretensions extended far beyond his origins. The author of the *Ath. Pol.* cites only "some people" (ἔνιοι) as his source both for the assertion that the *hippeis* were able to keep a horse and for the inscribed dedication on the Acropolis supposedly supporting this assertion. It is not at all clear whether these ἔνιοι were oral or written sources, or some combination of the two. Though he detects signs of written sources behind the *Ath. Pol.*'s treatment of Athenian political history, at the same time Rhodes notes that on multiple occasions, including the passages in which he quoted *skolia*, the author of the *Ath. Pol.* introduced evidence he thought he knew without bothering to consult a written source.[44] Furthermore, it was characteristic of Aristotle's own use of epigram to take such texts out of their original contexts (oral or written) and to reuse them for different purposes entirely.[45] One might object that anyone could go to the Acropolis and prove the author of the *Ath. Pol.* wrong if he had indeed misquoted a dedicatory inscription still visible in his own time. Although the rhetorical strategy of quoting such an inscription derives its authority from the fact that such a text can be verified, that does not necessarily mean that the author got it right, or that anyone ever did verify his quotation.[46]

But what of Anthemion, son of Diphilos, the supposed dedicator of statues of a man and a horse on the Acropolis in the first verse? Attempts to identify him have found a possible candidate in Anthemion (patronymic unknown), the father of Anytos, one of the three accusers of Socrates at his trial of 399 BCE.[47] From references to Anytos in Plato (*Meno* 90a), Xenophon (*Ap.* 29), and the Atthidographers, it seems that his father

Anthemion became wealthy and passed on a tannery and other profitable businesses to his son. This Anthemion seems to fit the first verse of the epigram if we accept its authenticity, and if we understand it in the way the author of the *Ath. Pol.* did, as a commemoration of an upward movement from the *thetes* to the *hippeis*. Yet, as we have already seen, the wording of the dedicatory epigram's first verse, with its dedication to the gods in the plural, suggests that it is no more pertinent to the Athenian Acropolis than the second verse describing Anthemion's elevation to the *hippeis*. I suspect strongly that the first verse of the Anthemion epigram is spurious as well, or at the very least that it ultimately derived from some context other than the Acropolis, despite the claims of the *Ath. Pol.*'s author.

Even if we reject the epigram's authenticity, the *Ath. Pol.*'s reference to statues of a man and a horse on the Acropolis seems to call for further explanation. Though the author of the *Ath. Pol.* referred to these statues as "of men of old" (τῶν ἀρχαίων), if they were still standing at the time the *Ath. Pol.* was written, they are unlikely to have been dedicated before the Persian sack of the Acropolis in 480 BCE. Real fifth century dedications of equestrian groups on the Acropolis commemorated either athletic or military victories, not the dedicators' status as *hippeis* in Solon's class system.[48] A search for statues of a man and a horse turns up two known possibilities. The first is a bronze group with a man (a groom?) standing alongside a horse, dedicated from enemy spoils by the Athenian cavalry and its three hipparchs Lakedaimonios (presumably Kimon's son by that name), Xenophon, and Pronapes (*IG* 1^3.511=*DAA* no. 135).[49] Though we do not know which victory the dedication commemorated, it should date after Perikles' reorganization of the Athenian cavalry, and therefore ca. 450–430 BCE. A second fifth-century dedication including statues of men and horses, *IG* 1^3.880 of ca. 450–440 BCE (*DAA* no. 174, *CEG* 278; earlier dated to the fourth-century and published as *IG* 2^2.3123), was made by Pronapes, son of Pronapides, to commemorate a series of chariot victories at the Nemean, Isthmian, and Panathenaic games. He may well be the very same Pronapes who, while serving as hipparch in the Athenian cavalry, was responsible for the first statue group.

Pronapes' victory dedication deserves a closer look. The first line of the inscription is metrical and, like the first line of the so-called Anthemion epigram, it begins with the patronymic followed by the dedicator's name:

Πϱοναπίδο Πϱονάπης [∪∪ — ∪∪ — ∪∪ ——]
vacat Νέμ[ε]α *vac.* Ἴσθ<μ>ια *vac.* Παναθήναια *vacat* ? [- - - - - - - - -]?[50]

Manolis Korres, on the basis of newly discovered blocks, now reconstructs Pronapes' dedication as a life-size bronze statue group on a base composed of six blocks, consisting of a quadriga, with or without a

charioteer, and two men standing behind the outer horses, one of them a groom and the other most likely a portrait of Pronapes himself.[51] On the Acropolis in the mid-fifth century BCE, Pronapes' dedication must have been considered an astonishing example of self-assertion, even within the context of Panhellenic chariot racing: it was nearly equal in size and format to the group of the so-called Delphi charioteer, a slightly earlier dedication by the Greek world's most prominent tyrant family, the Deinomenids of Sicily, in a Panhellenic sanctuary.[52] Pronapes' quadriga group dwarfed the bronze quadriga set up by the Athenians to commemorate their victory over the Boiotians and Chakidians in 506 BCE (*DAA* no. 168), replaced after the Persian sack of 480 (*DAA* no. 173=*IG* 1^3.501). Given his unprecedented display of private wealth and status on the Acropolis, it is surprising that so little is known about Pronapes.[53] A hipparch named Amynias (or Ameinias), son of Pronapes, on the other hand, was the butt of frequent jokes by Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Kratinos a generation later in the 420s BCE for his aristocratic pretensions and for squandering his fortune.[54]

I would suggest that the second line of the Anthemion epigram, as quoted by the author of the *Ath. Pol.*, originated as a satirical reference not to Anthemion, but rather to Pronapes. He had asserted his wealth and equestrian victories in a way that was without precedent in Athenian society, making it a good joke to suggest that he had gone from being a *thes* to a *hippeus*. Pronapes' son Amynias, who figuratively (if not literally) exchanged the property of a *hippeus* for that of a *thes*, may or may not have been encompassed by the same satirical verse. The original elegiac epigram may even have taken the form of a mock dedication, the first line quoting the actual inscription on Pronapes' Acropolis statue group commemorating his chariot victories.[55] Either the author of the *Ath. Pol.* himself or his anonymous sources mistook an epigram in the elegiac meter about the fifth-century figure Pronapes for an inscribed dedication from the Acropolis, preserving its second, pentameter verse and attaching it to a metrical dedication by someone named Anthemion, son of Diphilos; this pentameter then seems to have occasioned an unprecedented interpretation of a prominent equestrian statue group still standing in the sanctuary. In this scenario, Anthemion, son of Diphilos, remains unknown, and I would reject the verse about him quoted by *Ath. Pol.* 7.4 as irrelevant both to the Athenian Acropolis and to Solon's property classes.

CONCLUSION

Two Acropolis dedications seem to provide primary evidence from the period between 480 and the 320s BCE for the system of four census classes

(τέλη) attributed to Solon by *Ath. Pol.* 7.4. Here I have argued that *IG* 1^3.831, a fragmentary inscribed marble bowl dated to ca. 480–470 BCE, should be removed from the list of fifth-century attestations for Solon's τέλη: its interpretation as a dedication by a *zeugites* rests only upon a questionable modern restoration of the inscription. The inscribed object itself most likely served as a support for a lost bronze bowl (*lebes*). In the second quarter of the fifth century, such *lebetes* were being awarded as prizes in the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών, the games held to commemorate the dead at Marathon and Plataia. I propose to restore the name of the dedicator not as a *zeugites*, but rather as an unknown demesman of Boutadai who dedicated a prize *lebes* on the Acropolis.

I have also suggested that the notoriously problematic epigram quoted by *Ath. Pol.* 7.4 in a discussion of the Solonian τέλη and their property qualifications, and associated with statues of a man and a horse, does not really derive from an inscribed statue base on the Acropolis. The first line of the epigram, a pentameter naming Anthemion, son of Diphilos, as the dedicator of these statues, may ultimately derive from an authentic dedicatory inscription, but as far as we can tell not one from the Acropolis in the Archaic or Classical periods. The second line, a pentameter that mentions exchanging the thetic for the hippad class, should perhaps be reidentified as a snippet of satirical elegiac poetry from the second half of the fifth century BCE mistaken for part of an inscribed text by either the author of the *Ath. Pol.* or his sources. Oddly enough, the *Ath. Pol.*'s description of the statues of a man and a horse finds parallels in two known Acropolis dedications (*IG* 1^3.511 and 880) associated with Pronapes, who commemorated a string of chariot victories in the mid-fifth century BCE with a large equestrian statue group. A mere twenty-five years later, Pronapes's son Amynias became the butt of comic jokes for his straitened economic circumstances. I suggest that the second pentameter quoted by the *Ath. Pol.* originated as a satire on Pronapes, which found its way into the *Ath. Pol.* under the name Anthemion, son of Diphilos.

NOTES

1. My warmest thanks go first of all to the organizers of this volume, Kevin Daly and Lee Ann Riccardi, for including me in this project. John Camp has shown us the way by being at once a consummate archaeologist and an ancient historian, without insisting on a distinction between the two. I would also like to thank David Potter, who first introduced me to the joys and perils of the *Ath. Pol.*, as well as Stephen Lambert and Joe Day, for helpful discussions of *IG* 1^3.831 early on. None of the above should be held responsible for any errors that have resulted from a modest attempt to explain a puzzling object and a confounding *Ath. Pol.* passage. All translations from Greek are my own.

2. Kurt Raaflaub, "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia, or: What to do with Solon's Timocracy?" in *Solon of Athens, New Historical and Philological Approaches*, ed. Josine H. Blok and André P. M. H. Lardinois (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 404–421—building upon earlier work by Geoffrey E. M. de Ste. Croix, "The Solonian Census Classes and the Qualifications for Cavalry and Hoplite Service," in *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays*, ed. Geoffrey E. M. de Ste. Croix et al. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 46–56, Vincent Rosivach, "The Requirements for the Solonic Classes in Aristotle, A.P. 7.iv," *Hermes* 130 (2002): 36–47; and David Whitehead, "The Archaic Athenian *zeugitai*," *Classical Quarterly* 31 (1981): 282–286—has argued that Solon's original τέλη were based entirely on military functions, and that the property assessments described by *Ath. Pol.* 7.4 were added to the system only in the mid-fifth century BCE, likely in 462 (reforms of Ephialtes) or 451/0 BCE (Perikles' citizenship law). For a more traditional view of the origins of the τέλη, cf. Lin Foxhall, "A View from the Top: Evaluating the Solonian Property Classes," in *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, ed. Lynette G. Mitchell and Peter J. Rhodes (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 129–132. De Ste. Croix, "Solonian Census Classes," 27–28, believed that the principal function of Solon's census classes was always to determine eligibility for political office.

3. For a convincing argument that the *zeugitai* were originally elite landowners with military obligations as hoplites, see Hans van Wees, "Mass and Elite in Solon's Athens: The Property Classes Revisited" in *Solon of Athens, New Historical and Philological Approaches*, ed. Josine H. Blok and André P. M. H. Lardinois (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 351-389. Raaflaub, "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia," 413–415, suggests it is unlikely that the *zeugitai* still constituted an elite in the fifth century; Miriam Valdés Guía, and Julián Gallego, "Athenian *Zeugitai* and the Solonian Census Classes: New Reflections and Perspectives," *Historia* 59 (2010): 257–281, posit that most fifth-century *zeugitai* were small landowners, but that after the restoration of the democracy in 403 BCE the criteria for membership in the *zeugitai* were raised to exclude all but the wealthiest.

4. Rosivach, "Solonic Classes," 41, cites Thuc. 3.16.1 as the latest certain evidence that the Solonian τέλη were still in use. There *pentacosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis* were excluded from participation in a military expedition of 428 BCE; but cf. van Wees, "Mass and Elite," 362–371, who places the last evidence of an "active political role" for the Solonian τέλη in 403 BCE, and suggests that the property qualifications were still in force until the mid-fourth century BCE. De Ste. Croix, "Solonian Census Classes," 11–12, cites a decree of 387/6 BCE as the latest use of the Solonian τέλη other than as a qualification for political office. Vincent Gabrielsen, "The Impact of Armed Forces on Government and Politics in Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis: A Response to Hans van Wees," in *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. Angelos Chaniotes and Pierre Ducrey (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2002), 95, notes that the τέλη were still mentioned in the Bouleutic oath as late as 353 BCE (Dem. 24.144), and observes that in the fourth century "the four labels of the τέλη were thought of as referring to recognizable socio-economic groups whose individual members could somehow be identified." By the time of the *Ath. Pol.* (47.1) in the late fourth century BCE, the treasurers (*tamiai*) of Athena continued to be chosen from among the *pentacosiomedimnoi*, but some of the men

chosen to serve were in fact poor, implying that property assessments were no longer performed.

5. For commentary on *Ath. Pol.* 7.3–4, see Peter J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 137–146.

6. I would like to thank the staff and directors (Dina Peppa-Delmouzou and Charalambos Kritzas) of the Epigraphical Museum, who allowed me to study this object both in 1993 for my dissertation and again in 1999.

7. For the epithet Tritogenes and its placement, see Peter A. Hansen, "*DAA* 374-375 and the Early Elegiac Epigram," *Glotta* 56 (1978): 197–198. Παλλάδι τριτογενεῖ at the end of an elegiac couplet: *IG* 1^3.885 (*DAA* no. 133=*CEG* 280); at the beginning of an elegiac couplet: *IG* 1^3.642 (*DAA* no. 66=*CEG* 201) and *IG* 1^3.667 (*DAA* no. 235=*CEG* 203); at the beginning of a hexameter: *IG* 1^3.783 (*DAA* no. 227=*CEG* 240) and *IG* 1^3.903 (*DAA* no. 375=*CEG* 185). A rearrangement of the text into two hexameter verses would read as follows: Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ] με πατ[ὲρ καὶ υἱὸς (∪)]έλο/ ἀνέθε[κ]εν Βο[— ∪∪ — ∪∪ — ∪∪ α]ίτες. A further objection to such a restoration, beyond its length, is the metrical problem created by using ἀνέθε[κ]εν at the beginning of a hexameter verse. Considerations of length also lead me to reject the possibility of restoring the dual verb ἀνεθέ[τ]-ην, which would call for restoring the names of two dedicators, rather than the singular ἀνέθη[κ]εν.

8. The inscription's letters are finely cut with v-shaped furrows, and resemble somewhat the letters of the famous Hekatompedon inscription (*IG* 1^3.4) from the Acropolis; for a spirited defense of the traditional dating of the Hekatompedon inscription to 485/4 BCE, see Ronald S. Stroud, "Adolph Wilhelm and the Date of the Hekatompedon Decrees," in *Attikai epigraphai: praktika symposiou eis mnemen Adolph Wilhelm (1864–1950)*, ed. Angelos P. Matthaiou and Georgia E. Malouchou (Athens: Hellenike Epigraphike Hetaireia, 2004), 85–97.

9. For a parallel for the formula "father and son of X" restored by Hansen in *CEG*, see *IG* 1^3.850 (=*DAA* no. 121, ca. 470–460? BCE), a metrical epigram in which the dedicator, Hegelochos, calls himself father and son of Ekphantos (Ἐκφάντου με πατὴρ ἀνέθηκε καὶ υἱός).

10. In such a restoration, the pentameter would read as follows: Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ ?εὐχσαμενός] με πατ[ὲρ.

11. E.g. by Raubitschek, *DAA*, 401; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 770; and Gabrielsen, "Impact," 95.

12. Rosivach, "Solonic Classes," uses these conflicting pieces of evidence to question the production numbers assigned to the top three census classes in the *Ath. Pol.*; cf. van Wees, "Mass and Elite," 376–377, for discussion of a fifth-century "narrowing of the gap" between *zeugitai* and *thetes*.

13. Raaflaub, "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia."

14. De Ste. Croix, "Solonian Census Classes," 54.

15. Cf. the restorations by Crönert (reported and rejected by Hansen in *CEG* no. 269), in which the problem posed by the dedicator's self-identification as a *zeugites* is magnified: Crönert tried to make the dedicator, Bo-, a *zeugites* and the son of a *hippeus*, which would require us to suppose that he refers in his dedicatory epigram to a move downward from the *hippeis* to the *zeugitai*: ([?εὐξάμενός] με πατ[ὴρ ἱππέως Ἐχ]ήλου ἀνέθε[κ]εν/Βοῦ[λις ζευ]χίτες Παλλάδι τρι[τογενεῖ]).

16. It seems worth noting, however, that Habbo G. Lolling and Paul H. A. Wolters, Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου, vol. 1, *Επιγραφαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, part 1,′ *Ἀρχαϊκαὶ ἀναθηματικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί* (Athens, 1899), 126, no. 280, who first published all of the fragments together, did not include the gamma at all in their transcription. Interestingly, they also reported seeing traces of blue paint in the letters, which can no longer be seen on the stone.

17. For dedications by such self-identified *banausoi*, see Catherine M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 69–71.

18. As noted by de Ste. Croix, "Solonian Census Classes," 49–50.

19. See especially Whitehead, "Archaic Athenian *zeugitai*," 285–286, and van Wees, "Mass and Elite," 355: "In Archaic Athens, *zeugitai* was not a straightforward technical term for hoplites."

20. See Pierre Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1933), 310–313, and Georges Redard, *Les noms grecs en -της, -τις, et principalement en -ιτης, -ιτις, Étude philologique et linguistique* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1949). For ethnics ending in -γίτης and -αίτης, see Mogens H. Hansen, and Thomas H. Nielsen, eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), nos. 704 and 705 (Νυμφαίτης and Παντικαπαίτης) and 821 (Μελανπαγίτης). In the Athenian context, there is another possibility ending in -γιτης: [Ἀρεοπα]χίτης. But this restoration runs into three objections. The second alpha is short, but the meter of the epigram would require it to be long. The occurrence of [Ἀρεοπα]χίτης here would be also be a *hapax*, occurring nowhere else among Archaic and Classical dedications or funerary monuments, not even before Ephialtes' reforms reduced the powers of the Areopagus Council in 462/1 BCE [Ἀρεοπα]χίτης also seems too long to fit into the space available in the first *hemiepes* of the pentameter.

21. One notable exception is a dedication of ca. 450 BCE by Menandros Demetriou Aigilieus (*IG* 1^3.872=*DAA* no. 218=*CEG* 275), consisting of two elegiac couplets.

22. But cf. *DAA* no. 317 (*IG* 1^3.597), in which Alkmeonides may have dedicated a bronze bowl on the Acropolis together with a Boiotian charioteer named Knopiadas: this restoration is an inference from the same pair's dedication at the Ptoön in Boiotia to commemorate a victory in the Panathenaic chariot race *(IG* 1^3.1469).

23. For longer names ending in -αίτης attested in Attica, see *LGPN*, s.v. Εὐαΐτης, Πανδαΐτης, and Θουδαΐτης.

24. For a similar combination of moldings, see Konstantin Kissas, *Die attischen Statuen- und Stelenbasen archaischer Zeit* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 127–128, no. B56 (an uninscribed, rectangular pillar capital from the Acropolis, dated by Kissas to the end of the sixth century BCE).

25. Lolling and Wolters, *Ἀρχαϊκαὶ ἀναθηματικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί*, 126, no. 280.

26. For examples, see Ursula Knigge, *The Athenian Kerameikos, History, Monuments, Excavations*, trans. Judith Binder (Athens: Krene, 1991), 159–160, and figure 154 (ca. 480 BCE addition of a burial in a bronze *lebes* to a sixth-century tumulus in the Kerameikos); Knigge, *Kerameikos,* 97–99, and *CEG* 11 (hollow for a *lebes* in the steps of the grave monument for the *proxenos* Pythagoras of Selymbria, mid-fifth century BCE); and Liana Parlama and Nikolaos C. Stampolidis, eds., *Athens:*

The City Beneath the City, Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations (Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art, 2000), 332–333, nos. 350–351 (bronze *lebes* and stone holder found in the Athens Metro excavations). Cf. A. H. Smith, "'The Tomb of Aspasia,'" *JHS* 46 (1926): 253–257, for an inscribed bronze *lebes* and marble urn designed to hold it, found in the so-called 'tomb of Aspasia' and now in the Elgin Collection of the British Museum; the inscription on the rim of the *lebes* shows that it was originally awarded as a prize in games held at Argos (*LSAG*, 170, no. 43).

27. For private funeral games, see Lynn E. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," *Stadion* 7 (1981): 1-18. For a catalogue of inscribed metal prize vases including *lebetes*, see Eurydice Kephalidou, *Νικητής. Εικονογραφική μελέτη του αρχαίου ελληνικού αθλητισμού* (Thessaloniki: Aristoteleio Panepistimio Thessalonike, 1996), 114–119, and the chart on 119; for inscribed bronze prize *lebetes* found in Thebes and Delphi, see *LSAG*, 91–92 and 435 D.

28. See *DAA* 337. Also possibly for bronze *lebetes* without tripod legs attached are *IG* 1^3.591 (=*DAA* no. 318) and *IG* 1^3.743 (=*DAA* no. 321).

29. For the attachment of hydriae and other footed bronze vessels to inscribed stone bases on the Acropolis, see Catherine M. Keesling, "Patrons of Athenian Votive Monuments of the Archaic and Classical Periods: Three Studies," *Hesperia* 74 (2005): 415–418. For *lebetes* attached to column bases, see Ursula Knigge, "Ein Grabmonument der Alkmeoniden im Kerameikos," *AM* 121 (2006): 144–146. For a lost votive base of ca. 600–550, found near Delphi, that seems to have supported two bronze bowls, see *CEG* no. 344.

30. For the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών and the inscribed *lebetes*, see Eugene Vanderpool, "Three Prize Vases," *ArchDelt* 24 (1969): 1-5, and Pierre Amandry, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos (1)," *BCH* 95 (1971): 612–625. The inscription on the Kanellopoulos *lebes* is *IG* 1^3.523 (Ἀθεναῖοι ἆθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τôι πολέμοι); the identical inscription on the Louvre *lebes* is *IG* 1^3.524. Angelos P. Matthaiou, "Ἀθηναίοισι τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος (Herod. 6. 108. 1)," in *Herodotus and his World. Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forrest*, ed. Peter Derow and Robert Parker (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 190–202, especially pages 199–200) supports Vanderpool's dating of the first celebration of the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών directly after the battle of Plataia in 479 BCE, and adduces new evidence for later Epitaphia celebrated near a centotaph for the Marathonian dead in Athens' *demosion sema*.

31. Cf. the slightly smaller diameter (0.377 m) of the bronze *lebes* found in the Athens Metro excavations (Parlama and Stampolidis, ed., *City Beneath the City*, 332–333, no. 350).

32. *IG* 2^2.1498, lines 73–74: παῖς γυμνὸς λαγ[ὼν ἔχει ἐν τῆι χειρὶ τῆι δε] | [ξιᾶι], ἀνάθημα Ἀνθεμίων[ος - - - - - 19 - - - - - - -] ("a naked boy holding a hare in its right hand, the dedication of Anthemion . . .").

33. For examples of single pentameters on dedications, see Kirby F. Smith, "Some Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich," *American Journal of Philology* 22 (1901): 173–179; for the lack of double pentameters, see Hansen, "*DAA* 374–375." The dedication of Pronapes on the Acropolis, to be discussed further below, was long thought to be an example of a single pentameter, but it is now clear that a full hexameter line should be restored.

34. Cf. The suggestion of Wilhelm Bannier, "Zu griechischen Inschriften," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 70 (1915): 389–391, that the *Ath. Pol.*'s source for the epigram read the two pentameters (i.e., the second verses of two elegiac couplets) from a damaged monument originally inscribed with two complete couplets. This seems improbable; if it were not for the metrical problem, the first line quoted by the *Ath. Pol.* would make sense as the first line of a dedicatory epigram, and it is hard to imagine what else a missing first line might have said.

35. Denys L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 415–417, Anonymous no. 110, fifth century BCE, also seems to take the deictic pronoun τήνδε as a reference to the statue of the horse; εἰκών (portrait statue) seems a more likely antecedent. Some manuscripts of Pollux give τόνδε or ἵππον instead of τήνδε.

36. Anthemion's dedication "to the gods" (θεοῖς) has no parallel on the Acropolis; the closest parallel I can find is *CEG* 2 837, a fourth-century dedication from Delos inscribed with an elegiac couplet, the second line of which reads: Ἀν[τι] γόνου Σῖμος τό[νδ'] ἀν[έθ]ηκ[ε θ]εοῖς. Cf. *DAA* no. 76, an epigram of ca. 480–470 BCE restored by Raubitschek as a dedication to the gods (θεοῖσι), but treated otherwise by P.A. Hansen (*CEG* no. 265).

37. Rhodes, *Commentary*, 143: "there is no evidence for reassessments apart from Anthemion's epigram . . . and we might expect to find some if they had occurred at all often. . . ."

38. For Jeffery's theory, see Rhodes, *Commentary*, 144–145 and de Ste. Croix, "Solonian Census Classes," 70–71.

39. For Kimon's dedication on the Acropolis, see also Keesling, *Votive Statues*, 92–93.

40. Ewen L. Bowie, "Early Greek Elegy, Symposium, and Public Festival," *JHS* 106 (1986): 13-35.

41. For this and further examples of *skolia*, see Denys L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), nos. 893–896 (on the tyrant-slayers Harmodios and Aristogeiton), 906 (Kedon), and 907 (Leipsydrion, not elegiac). On *skolia*, see Kathryn J. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands, Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 116–117. Dimitrios Yatromanolakis, "Ancient Greek Popular Song," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, ed. Felix Budelmann (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 271-275, argues for wide circulation of *skolia* in the fifth century, and for further performance contexts that were not strictly sympotic. In an unpublished paper, Gregory Jones, "Non-Elite Origins of the Attic Skolia and the Birth of Democracy," *Abstracts of Papers for the 2005 Annual Meeting, American Philological Association* (Philadelphia: American Philological Association, 2005), has suggested that Attic *skolia* such as those quoted by the *Ath. Pol.* originated in communal deme banquets rather than elite symposia.

42. For the Xanthippos epigram, see Rhodes, *Commentary*, 276–277; *Agora* 25:134, no. 1065, and Stefan Brenne, "Die Ostraka (487-ca. 416 v. Chr.) als Testimonien (T1)" in *Ostrakismos-Testimonien*, vol. 1, *Die Zeugnisse antiker Autoren, der Inschriften und Ostraka über das athenische Scherbengericht aus vorhellenisticher Zeit*, ed. Peter Siewert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2002), 134–139, no. T1/153; Thomas J. Figueira, "Xanthippos, Father of Perikles, and the *Prutaneis* of the *Naukraroi*,"

Historia 35 (1986): 260–266, summarizes and critiques earlier discussions. Xanthippos Arriphronos is well represented among the unpublished ostraka found since 1990 in the Agora excavations.

43. As Stefan Brenne, "Ostraka and the Process of Ostrakophoria," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, ed. William D.E. Coulson et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), 13, has noted, "a considerable number of remarks on ostraka have the same tone as personal attacks in comedies."

44. Rhodes, *Commentary*, 15-30, 59; and Peter J. Rhodes, "Documents and the Greek Historians," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, vol. 1, *Contexts*, ed. John Marincola (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007), 62-63.

45. Andrej Petrovic, "Inscribed Epigram in Pre-Hellenistic Literary Sources," in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*, ed. Peter Bing and Jon S. Bruss (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 66–67. For arguments in favor of the mid-fourth century Attic orators' use of early epigram collections as a source, see Andrej Petrovic, "Inscribed Epigrams in Orators and Epigrammatic Collections," *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. Peter P. Liddel and Polly Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 197-213.

46. For inscriptions as a source of authority in Greek literary texts, see Peter P. Liddel, and Polly Low, 'Introduction: The Reception of Ancient Inscriptions," in *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. Peter P. Liddel and Polly Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9-14.

47. *DAA* 206; John K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 40–41, no. 1324.

48. For equestrian statue groups on the Acropolis, see Keesling, *Votive Statues*, 89–91. The significance of the earlier, Archaic marble horses and riders dedicated on the Acropolis remains uncertain, though these too may have been agonistic; see Mary Ann Eaverly, *Archaic Greek Equestrian Sculpture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

49. hοι hι[ππ]ῆς [⁝] ἀπὸ τῶν [πο]λεμίον ⁝ hιππαρ[χ]ό[ν]-
τον ⁝ Λακεδαιμονίο [⁝] Ξ[ε]νοφόντος ⁝ Προν[ά]π[ο]-
ς ⁝ Λύκιο[ς ⁝ ἐ]ποίησεν [⁝] Ἐλευθερεὺς [⁝ Μ]ύ[ρ]ο̣ν̣[ος].

The base was reused for a new horse-and-groom group in the Augustan period, and at the same time the original inscribed text was copied (*DAA* no. 135a), in Archaizing lettering, onto the back face of the block. An identical copy of the new statue group was set up on a new base, together with another Archaizing copy of the hipparchs' dedication (*DAA* no. 135b).

50. Raubitschek (*DAA*, 206–207) in fact restored the first line as a pentameter, using the Anthemion dedication in *Ath. Pol.* 7.4 as a model: Προναπίδο Προνάπης [τάσδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς]. Korres' new reconstruction of the statue base (see below) now shows that it was much wider than Raubitschek thought, with room to inscribe a full hexameter. As a hexameter restoration, Raubitschek had offered the following: Προναπίδο Προνάπης [τἀθηναίαι μ' ἀνέθηκεν].

51. Manolis Korres, "Αναθηματικά και τιμητικά τεθρίππα στην Αθήνα και τους Δελφούς" in *Delphes cent ans après la grande fouille, essai de bilan*, ed. Anne Jacquemin (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2000), 296–313; for reconstructions of the group, see figures. 20–25. Cf. the earlier reconstruction by Gorham P. Stevens,

"The Northeast Corner of the Parthenon," *Hesperia* 15 (1946): 17–21, and figure 21, without the two standing figures flanking the quadriga.

52. For a reconstruction of the Deinomenid quadriga group at Delphi, see Claude Rolley, "En regardant l'Aurige," *BCH* 114 (1990): 293, figures 6 and 7 (quadriga plus two flanking horses with grooms). Rolley's reconstruction is similar to Pausanias' (6.12.1) description of the statue group dedicated at Olympia by Deinomenes to commemorate a chariot victory by his father Hieron. Pausanias (6.10.6–8) mentions another quadriga group flanked by two standing figures at Olympia (the victor was Kleosthenes of Epidamnos).

53. For Pronapes, son of Pronapides, of the deme Prasiai, see Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, 471, no. 12250, and Anthony E. Raubitschek, "Leagros," *Hesperia* 8 (1939): 158–160.

54. See Aristophanes, *Vesp*. 74, 466, and 1267, and schol. 1271 (Willem J. W. Koster, *Scholia in Aristophanem*, vol. 2, *Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam*, part 1, *Scholia vetera et recentiora in Aristophanis Vespas* [Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1978], 201), with Aristophanes, *Wasps*, ed. Douglas M. MacDowell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 178, 138–140, 197, and 295–297; Aristophanes, *Nub*. 686 and 691, with Aristophanes, *Clouds*, ed. Kenneth J. Dover (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 185; and Aristophanes, *Clouds*, ed. Alan H. Sommerstein (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1982), 197–198; Eupolis (Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin, eds., *Poetae comici graeci*, vol. 3.2, *Aristophanes, Testimonia et fragmenta* [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984], frag. 222); and Kratinos (Theodor Kock, ed. *Comicorum atticorum fragmenta*, vol. 1, *Antiquae comoediae fragmenta* (Leipzig: B. G. Teurbneri, 1880), no. 213; John M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), no. 213.

55. For the idea that parodies of inscriptions were among the poems recited at symposia in the fifth and fourth centuries, see Bruno Gentili, "Epigramma ed elegia," In *L'épigramme grecque: sept exposés suivis de discussions*, by Anthony E. Raubitschek et al. (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1968), 43; and Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, 4.

6

The Architecture of the Athenian Acropolis before Pericles: The Life and Death of the Small Limestone Buildings

Nancy L. Klein

The buildings of the Classical Acropolis have shaped modern perception of ancient architecture and have come to symbolize for many the cultural heritage of modern Greece.[1] Beginning in the eighteenth century, with the publication of Nicholas Stuart and James Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens*, the forms of the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, Nike temple, and Propylaia have been a source of inspiration for architects and designers. Conservation efforts that began in the nineteenth-century have concentrated on the restoration of the Classical buildings and thereby focused the contemporary viewer on the appearance of the sanctuary in the late fifth century BCE.

But the history of the Acropolis began long before this time. Excavation began shortly after the War of Independence and has continued for nearly 180 years, providing evidence for the life of the Acropolis from prehistory to the present day.[2] The nineteenth century excavations eventually removed everything that was seen as not belonging to the Classical Greek world.[3] Later buildings were demolished and layers of soil and fills were removed down to bedrock. These efforts brought to light thousands of fragments of ancient architecture, sculpture, pottery, and inscriptions that had been rebuilt into later structures or deposited in fill throughout the life of the sanctuary and revealed evidence of an earlier, and less well-known period of Greek culture. The picture that emerged from these new discoveries offered evidence of a prehistoric citadel and a sanctuary that began to take shape in the eighth or seventh century BCE.[4] Contemporary scholarship suggests that by the late sixth century, the sacred character of the Acropolis was given architectural definition with two peripteral

temples and several smaller buildings. A variety of dedications filled the sanctuary and offered testimony to the piety of the Athenians and the growing importance of Athens as a center of artistic production.

In 480 BCE, the Persian invasion of Attica caused the Athenians to abandon their homes and shrines but they took with them the sacred image of Athena. The Acropolis was sacked, buildings and votives damaged, and the finest works of art taken away. Following the defeat of the Persians, the Athenians began to rebuild their sanctuary. The design of the Classical Acropolis was shaped by its role as a sanctuary of the Athenians' patron goddess, but it also sought to shape social memory of the past. Indeed, the rebuilding of the sanctuary under the leadership of Pericles was undertaken in part to replace structures destroyed or damaged by the Persians. While the Older Parthenon had an even more majestic successor, the temple on the north was superseded by an unusual Ionic temple, the Erechtheion. But as several scholars have noted, the past (Mycenaean and early Iron Age) was clearly referenced in the reconstruction of the Acropolis as well.[5] The most visible remnants are the Mycenaean wall, the foundations of the sixth century Temple of Athena Polias beside the Erechtheion, and the North wall of the Acropolis itself, which incorporated pieces of the entablature of the Temple of Athena Polias and the unfinished column drums from the Older Parthenon. This directed observance of sacred architectural remains from buildings damaged by the Persians was probably intended to construct and preserve the memory of historical events.

By contrast, there are apparently no replacements for the small buildings. While the fragments of their superstructures and architectural sculpture were found buried in layers of fifth-century BCE fill or reused in the foundations of the Propylaia, the buildings themselves were not replaced. While it may be that the historical and social circumstances that brought about their creation no longer existed or they were no longer needed to serve the sanctuary, it may also be the case that we have not fully understood the nature of the archaeological remains and how they could be understood in the context of the Acropolis. While past efforts to evaluate the Archaic architecture have focused primarily on the date and appearance of the buildings, this paper offers additional criteria for assessing their importance: How long did each building stand? And what happened after their functional life came to an end?

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Excavation on the Athenian Acropolis began shortly after the Greek War of Independence and continues to shape our understanding today.[6]

Among the many challenges that faced the early scholars was the accumulation of thousands of years of human activity upon the Acropolis rock. When seen through the lens of history, our foreshortened perspective of the past flattens and renders indistinct the events of single years or even decades. On the Acropolis of Athens, which has been home to a Mycenaean palace, a Greek sanctuary, a Christian basilica, a medieval village, and an Ottoman military stronghold, separating and distinguishing the monuments and events of each historic period is a challenging task. By the nineteenth century, many of the Classical monuments were still standing but had been adapted to other uses in the centuries since their construction. At the time of Athens' liberation from the Ottoman Empire, the Acropolis had become a fortified village, inhabited by ruling authorities, soldiers and ordinary citizens. Some of the ancient monuments had been reused as residences (Erechtheion, Propylaia), places of worship (Christian church, mosque in Parthenon), or munitions storage (Parthenon, Propylaia), while others had been dismantled (Temple of Athena Nike), or significantly damaged (Parthenon). Houses, a bath, and miscellaneous structures filled the areas.[7] Other ancient remains had been re-used in later structures, while some had been damaged and buried.[8]

The work of Ludwig Ross and Kyriakos Pittakis was aimed at removing the buildings and accretions of the medieval and Ottoman periods.[9] In 1882, Panayiotis Evstratiadis, followed by Panayiotis Kavvadias from 1885–1890, aimed to explore the Athenian Acropolis by systematically removing the earthen fill around the standing buildings down to bedrock.[10] Most of what they found was fill composed of earth, rock, working layers of stone chips, and thousands of fragments of Archaic and Early Classical sculpture and architecture. Among the most famous discoveries was the deposit of korai to the northwest of the Erechtheion.[11] In the area to the south and southeast of the Parthenon, fragments of limestone architecture and sculpture were recovered. These include fragments of relief sculpture from several pedimental compositions and architectural elements from numerous Doric buildings. In 1885, excavation uncovered the foundations of an Archaic temple on the north side of the Acropolis, alongside and partially beneath the Classical Erechtheion.[12] In 1884, the removal of a large eistern beside the Propylaia laid bare the foundations of the Pinakotheke and an extension to the north for the planned (but never built) northeastern hall. The foundations are made of reused architectural blocks from several different unknown structures, but significantly include wall blocks, triglyphs and geison blocks that, on the basis of their dimensions, can be assigned to two small buildings of poros limestone. These discoveries provided an unanticipated source of information about pre-Classical sculpture and architecture. Nowhere in the Greek world was there such a volume of Archaic stone sculpture in a condition

comparable to the figures from the Acropolis. Freestanding figures, reliefs, pedimental and other architectural compositions (acroteria, metopes) were restored from dozens of fragments.[13] Scholars enthusiastically took up the study of the sculpture and effectively rewrote the history of the human figure in Greek art with the benefit of this new information.[14] The hundreds of fragments of architectural elements were also given careful consideration, particularly those belonging to the two large temples.

In 1904, Theodor Wiegand published a selection of the poros architecture and identified several buildings from the pre-Classical Acropolis.[15] Wiegand used a formal approach in his study of the architectural fragments. Most belonged to the superstructure of Doric buildings, including column drums and capitals, anta capitals, architrave blocks, triglyphs, metopes, and geisa. The system of proportions that governs the Doric order made it possible for Wiegand, based upon his personal observations and measurements of individual blocks, to recognize groups of associated elements. His discussion of individual buildings documented this process by describing the diagnostic fragments from each member of the superstructure from bottom to top. He was careful to point out which elements were missing as well as the details of decoration and design that guided his reconstruction.[16] Drawings and photographs of individual elements were provided in addition to façade reconstructions and photographs of the reconstructed entablatures on display in the Acropolis Museum at that time.

Wiegand recognized two large poros limestone temples, the "Old Athena Temple in antis (Hekatompedon)"[17] and the later "Peisistratid peripteral building."[18] These temples were assigned to two phases of the foundations on the north side of the Acropolis, the only visible pre-Classical foundations. Dozens of fragments at a much smaller scale were assigned to five other buildings, labeled A, B, C, D, and E (Figure 6.1). A small number of additional fragments from two other buildings, with dimensions that were comparable but not compatible with Building A, were noted as well.[19] Wiegand's analysis of the poros architecture allowed him to comment on the number and size of limestone buildings and their details of execution and proportions, but the lack of foundations, coupled with incompletely preserved superstructures, made it difficult to discuss the location of the buildings, as well as their plan and purpose. Despite these challenges, Wiegand's publication made a significant contribution to the history of scholarship and has shaped our understanding of the development of the sanctuary on the Acropolis.

Subsequent research has focused primarily on the reconstruction and location of the large temples.[20] Most recently, Korres's research has laid out convincing evidence for the presence of a peripteral temple dating to the second quarter of the sixth century on the south side of the Acropolis

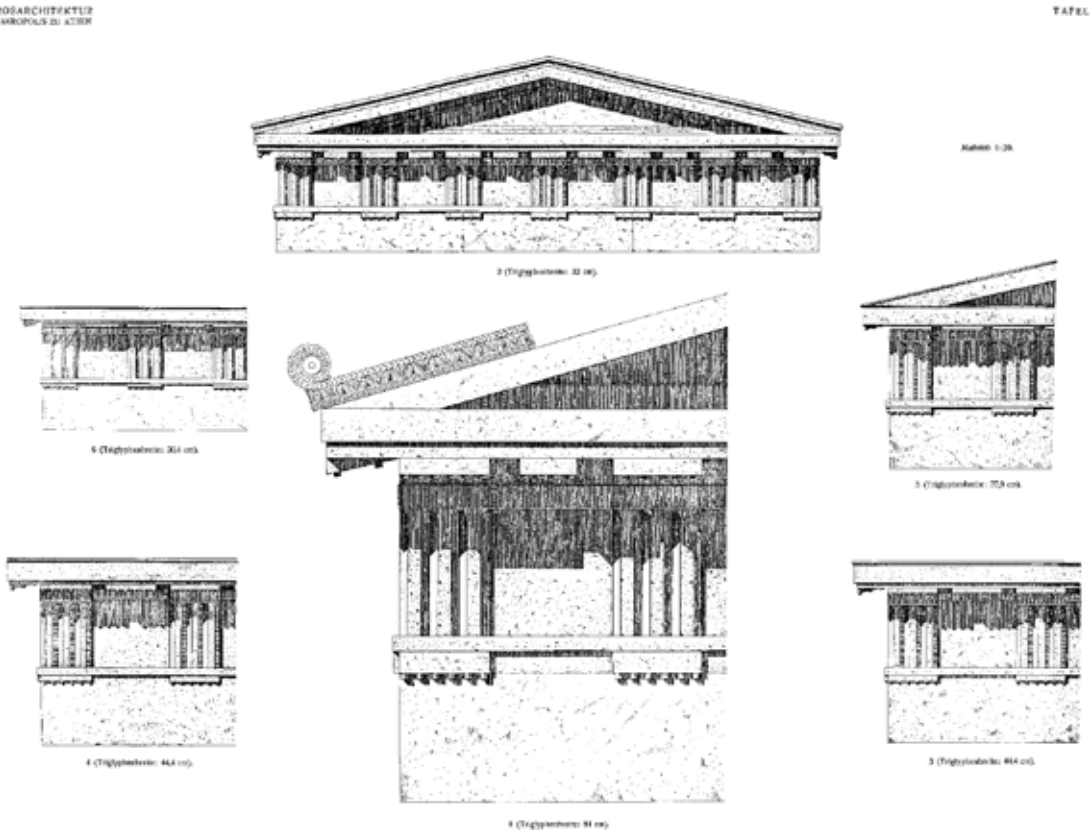


Figure 6.1. Small Limestone buildings from the Athenian Acropolis.
From Theodor Wiegand, *Die archäische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* (Cassel: Th. G. Fisher & Co., 1904), plate 13.

(variously called the Hekatompedon, H-architecture, Bluebeard temple, or the first Parthenon) and a second peripteral temple established on the foundations on the north side of the Acropolis towards the end of the sixth century (Temple of Athena Polias, Old Temple of Athena).

Rudolf Heberdey and William Bell Dinsmoor, Sr., contributed to the discussion of the architecture of the small buildings and the question of the buildings' functions and locations.[21] In 1919, Heberdey observed that there were differences in the measurements of certain blocks assigned to Building A that made it unlikely for them to belong to the same building. He agreed with Wiegand in assigning a large group of early Doric architectural elements to one structure (Building A), but suggested that other fragments be assigned to different structures that were similar but not identical in design or dimensions. Heberdey called them Buildings A2 (characterized by geison blocks with smooth mutules) and A3 (building with painted pediment). In 1947, Dinsmoor published an article addressing the topography of the early Acropolis that also discussed the small buildings. He recognized only two structures: Building A and a second one with painted pediments, which he called Aa (Heberdey's A3).[22] A comparison of the design and dimensions of the geison blocks suggests that Heberdey was correct in dividing them among three different buildings.[23]

REEXAMINATION OF THE SMALL LIMESTONE ARCHITECTURE

Despite the efforts by Wiegand, Heberdey, and Dinsmoor to sort out the Archaic architecture, the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the incomplete state of publication has precluded an appreciation of the small buildings and their contribution to the development of the Acropolis and their place in this history of Greek architecture. The formal, forensic approach to Doric architecture (association based upon design, dimensions, and relationship of "body parts") is sound but one-dimensional. It does not take into account the life history of the building (how long did it stand after construction?), the manner in which the blocks were reused (in fill, in foundations, as part of a new structure), or how they were subsequently recovered. For example, the construction of Building A took place around 560–550 BCE, followed by the construction of Buildings C, B, Building A2, and Building A3 in the third or early fourth quarter of the sixth century, Building E in the early fifth century, and Building D perhaps as late as the second quarter of the fifth century. As will be discussed below, there is no evidence to suggest that any of these buildings had been destroyed or dismantled prior to 490 BCE. So the architectural evidence suggests that, by the early fifth century, perhaps as many as six "small" buildings stood on the Acropolis, in addition to the H-Architecture or Hekatompe-

don on the south, and the "Old Temple of Athena" on the north.[24] This quantity of building is remarkable and would suggest that the character of the Archaic Acropolis, with two large peripteral temples and six smaller treasury-like buildings, is more modest but not incomparable with the contemporary Panhellenic sanctuaries at Olympia (Temple of Hera, eleven treasuries) and Delphi (Temple of Apollo, twenty-four small limestone buildings).[25]

Over the past several years, I have had the opportunity to examine and catalogue over two hundred architectural fragments from the small limestone architecture of the Acropolis. Following the model established by Wiegand and Heberdey, I have attempted to associate elements based upon their scale, design, and decoration. My own measurements and descriptions largely confirm the results of these scholars and suggest the presence of numerous small buildings on the Archaic and Early Classical Acropolis. In the process of recording the data for the attribution of individual elements, however, I began to observe additional details about the blocks themselves. The tool marks used in their construction, repairs made during the lifetime of the building, and the manner in which they were broken up (or not), all provide a means for reconstructing the building's life history from its construction and functional lifetime to its disposal and reuse.

BUILDING A

Building A has the largest number and variety of architectural elements preserved from its superstructure.[26] These include fragments of two anta capitals, five fragments of architrave (four corner blocks), five triglyphs (three corner blocks), pieces from four corner/horizontal geison blocks, thirty-seven lateral geison blocks, and two raking geison blocks (Table 6.1). It must be emphasized that these blocks are all damaged or incomplete so not every cataloged fragment represents a complete architectural member. Building A is Doric and its individual elements have characteristics that indicate a date around the middle of the sixth century, ca. 560–550 BCE, such as the cavetto crowning molding on the lateral and raking geison, mutules of two different widths, and an early hawksbeak anta capital.[27] Based upon a close examination of the preserved fragments, it appears that Building A required repairs to its entablature during its construction or lifetime. Six of the thirty-seven lateral geison blocks show damage to their soffit or lower edge that was repaired by reattaching broken fragments with metal pins (Figure 6.2).[28] Some of the lateral geison blocks also show tool marks on their upper, outer edge that may be associated with the replacement of its roofing system. In these cases,

Table 6.1. Small Limestone Architectural Elements from the Athenian Acropolis

	Building A	*Building A2*	*Building A3*	*Building C*	*Building B*	*Group 1: Raking Geisa with Half Round*	*Building E*	*Building D*	*Group 2: Geison Blocks with Cyma Reversa*	*Miscellaneous Architectural Elements*
Doric Capital	1?									11
Column Drum										13
Anta Capital	2									2
Architrave	5			3			3			
Triglyph	1			2	Yes			1		
Triglyph and Metope Backer	4			2			2			1
Lateral Geison	37	3	1	5+	18		3	5	15	5
Horizontal Geison			2						5	1
Corner Geison	4									1
Raking Geison	2					38			5	2
Other			Painted tympanum (2)		Lintel or window frame, wall blocks				Tympanum block	Moldings (25) Tympanum (4) Other (24)

Figure 6.2. Building A, geison block with repair to mutule (Acropolis Museum Inv. No. 4390). Scale = 10 cm.
Photo N. L. Klein.

the original finished surface is still visible but a claw chisel was used to slightly lower the surface in some areas. Marks of the claw chisel do appear on several geison blocks from Building A, often associated with the setting of the sima, but occasionally elsewhere.

Building A is made from a soft limestone, called *poros*, a material that is hard enough to preserve details of tool marks and repairs, but also shows signs of wear and abrasion that might be attributed to a lengthy period of use. What is striking about the blocks themselves, however, is how each and every piece has been broken in a manner calculated to reduce its size. There is not a single architectural block with its original dimensions. The anta capitals are both incomplete, the triglyphs are broken at their outer top edges (perhaps to facilitate the removal of inserted metopes) and most have been broken away from the corresponding metope backer blocks. The geison blocks have all been systematically broken into smaller pieces, often within the via, which as a depression in the soffit would present a natural fault line for intentional breakage. It would take no more than two people to pick up any of the resulting fragments. A large section of the entablature on display in the new Acropolis museum (Acropolis Museum Inv. No. 4510) shows the impact from a small flat chisel or a pick leading to a triangular scar on the fascia beside one of the breaks. This

evidence suggests that at the end of its functional lifetime, Building A was dismantled and its parts reused according to their shape and potential usefulness. The broken fragments found in the storerooms today were recovered from the layers of fill to the south and southeast of the Parthenon during the excavations in the late nineteenth century. All belong to the entablature and the corners are particularly well represented (including the architrave, triglyph, and geison courses). By contrast, the ashlar wall blocks are all missing. How to explain this dichotomy between the preservation and treatment of blocks? Heberdey was the first to observe the breakage of the pieces of the entablature and connected it to the reuse of the blocks in the layers of fill.[29] His observation suggests that the shape of the architectural block and its perceived value for different purposes may have dictated how groups of blocks were reused or disposed. The intentional breaking of the geison blocks suggests an active process of preparing them for use in fill after the building had completed its functional life.

BUILDING B AND BUILDING C

Of the other small buildings found on the Acropolis, only Buildings B and C have a variety and quantity of material to compare with Building A.[30] The elements assigned to Building C include one piece and two very small fragments of architrave, four triglyphs (two attached to a metope backer), and at least five geison blocks.[31] All but three geisa were reused in the Pinakotheke foundations and two of those found elsewhere are tiny fragments. The geison blocks in the foundations are all complete and in good condition, some even have traces of red paint on the lower taenia and below the drip, and vivid blue on the mutules. The condition of the reused blocks contrasts sharply with the other pieces that were found around the Acropolis and are battered and incomplete. One of the fragmentary triglyphs from the Acropolis storeroom still bears traces of concrete mortar (Figure 6.3), which suggests that it had been built into a much later wall.

Wiegand had assigned a series of raking geison blocks with large half round soffit molding (Table 6.1, Group 1) to Building C on the basis of a tiny half round molding that crowns the lateral geison. Some of the largest fragments of raking geison have been partially restored and are on display with the pieces of the Introduction Pediment, although there is no basis for associating the sculpture with these raking geison blocks. Thirty-five other fragments are preserved in the storerooms. The projection of the raking geison soffit is broken away on most of the fragments, but the identification of block type and its position in the elevation of the building is assured.[32] The association of the raking geison with the other

Figure 6.3. Building C, triglyph with mortar (Acropolis Museum Inv. No. 4501). Scale = 10 cm.
Photo N. L. Klein.

elements of Building C is not without question. Wiegand made the association purely on the similarity of the half-round molding, but the size, articulation, and painted decoration of the two moldings is quite different. The raking geison molding is ca. 0.110 m tall, 0.040 m projection, and is sculpted into large (red) and small (blue-green) beads separated by flat discs (white).[33] The crowning molding on the lateral geison is 0.032 m high, 0.018 m projection, and has a smooth surface.[34] Wiegand observed painted red and blue bands (0.080 m wide) separated by white bands (0.035 m wide) that are no longer visible on most fragments.[35] While the color scheme of alternating blue and red bands on the crowning molding is vaguely similar to the coloring of the soffit molding, the difference in scale and carving is more striking. The condition and provenience of the blocks are also quite different. All of the raking geison blocks are fragmentary; most are less than 0.015m high or wide. It is clear that when the building to which these blocks belonged ceased to function, the raking

geison blocks were systematically broken apart and reduced to small pieces. There is no recorded provenience for any of these raking geison fragments, but most scholars have assumed that they were found in the layers of fill to the south and east of the Parthenon.

The majority of the architectural elements assigned to the apsidal Building B were reused in the foundations of the Propylaia, especially the Pinakotheke (Figure 6.4), including a stylobate or toichobate block, orthostates, wall blocks, triglyphs, geison blocks (curved, straight, and one transitional block), and what may be a lintel or window frame.[36] A few other blocks were found reused in the Northwest Building and nearby drain, both of which are contemporary with the Mnesiklean Propylaia.[37] The recent publication of the Classical Propylaia has provided a course-by-course analysis of the foundations of the central building as well as the Pinakotheke. It is clear from this work that a significant proportion of the superstructure of Building B was reused in the foundations of the Mnesiklean Propylaia. Seventeen complete geison blocks are visible in the western and eastern faces of the Pinakotheke foundations where they were placed in courses as headers and stretchers. Additional blocks (behind the headers and stretchers visible in the outermost course) can be

Figure 6.4. Pinakotheke, east wall foundations.
Photo N. L. Klein.

seen passing through the thickness of the foundations, so that the entablature from Building B comprises a significant percentage of the construction. There is little visible damage to most of the blocks (the moldings and even the paint are surprisingly well preserved), although some of the blocks were clearly trimmed to fit into the foundations. Additional ashlar blocks from the walls, lintel, and triglyphs of these buildings (B and C) were reused elsewhere in the foundations of the Propylaia, particularly the foundations of the western steps.[38]

OTHER BUILDINGS

Of the other buildings recognized by Wiegand and Heberdey, most have only a few blocks preserved. Building A2 consists of three lateral geison blocks with smooth mutules.[39] The three geison blocks are all broken but share the same design and dimensions. Building A3 is reconstructed on the basis of one lateral geison, two horizontal geisa, and two pieces of tympanum with painted decoration.[40] These blocks cannot be assigned to Building A or A2 because the horizontal geison is attached directly to the tympanum, unlike the design of Building A, and the dimensions of the mutules (which do have inserted guttae) and via are completely different from both A and A2.[41] Building E is reconstructed on the basis of one large piece and two small fragments of the architrave, one triglyph, a combined triglyph and metope backer, and three geison blocks.[42] The material assigned to Building D comprises three fragmentary geison blocks and a triglyph whose width matches that of the mutule.[43] The geison is crowned with a small and elegant cyma reversa molding, which has its best parallel in the Parthenon.[44] These blocks and those discussed below were found in the layers of fill to the south and east of the Parthenon.[45]

Wiegand had also identified a group of twelve blocks that he assigned to the raking geison of Building D. These are distinguished by a concave soffit and cyma reversa soffit and crowning moldings. While the presence of a similar cyma reversa molding on both lateral and raking geison blocks does promote an association, I have identified thirteen additional geison blocks and distinguished three different shapes (Table 6.1, Group 2). The first has a flat top surface and cyma reversa moldings framing a concave soffit (no lower taenia below). The second has similar design but with a lower taenia. The third has the same moldings and concave soffit, along with a sloping top surface and lower taenia. While the first and second types could have served as raking geison blocks framing the tympanum, the blocks with sloping upper surface are unsuitable for this position. There is no need to have a curving upper surface and it would have created difficulties for the attachment of the raking sima. The shape

of these blocks is more appropriate for a lateral geison, where the upper surface is designed to receive slanted rafter beams and to secure a roofing system along the flanks of the building. If this observation is correct, these blocks cannot belong to the raking geison of the Doric Building D, but must belong to a completely separate structure. The lack of mutules and guttae on the soffit of the geison suggests that the building was Ionic.[46] The profile of the cyma reversa soffit moldings is again significant, however, because the closest parallel comes from the Temple of Athena at Sounion, ca. 460 BCE.[47] This comparison suggests that the Group 2 blocks belong to a building dating to the second quarter of the fifth century.

In addition to the groups of architectural blocks discussed above, there are nearly a hundred other miscellaneous limestone architectural fragments that cannot be assigned to these buildings, groups, or any other recognizable monument, based upon an analysis of dimensions, decoration, or design (Table 6.1). Most are fragmentary, although there are a few nearly complete column drums, column and anta capitals, a triglyph and metope backer, and geison blocks. It is important to note the presence of these un-attributable fragments among the architectural elements recovered from the excavation and restoration projects on the Acropolis. Their diagnostic features allow us to determine that they come from buildings and/or monuments other than those discussed above. There is no recorded provenience for any of these fragments but, based upon their battered and fragmentary condition, most of them probably came from the levels of fill around the Acropolis.

PROVENIENCE OF THE SMALL LIMESTONE ARCHITECTURE

It was assumed by Wiegand, and apparently accepted by later scholars, that all of the buildings represented by the fragmentary limestone remains originally stood on the Acropolis. Parallels with the Panhellenic sanctuaries would lead us to believe that architecture, once dedicated, belongs to the divinity, and like other dedications must be properly respected, even when no longer needed or in a condition to be displayed.[48] But the implication for the Acropolis is problematic. As mentioned above, this approach to interpreting architectural fragments leads to the conclusion that at least six small buildings (A, C, B, A2, A3, and E) were constructed between 560 and 490 BCE and stood alongside the two peripteral temples in the Archaic sanctuary. Where they would have or could have stood in the Archaic sanctuary is extremely problematic. But a consideration of the history of the Acropolis and the formation processes of its archaeological record, which includes the reuse of the small limestone architecture, may lead us to reconsider these long held assumptions.

In 1947, William Bell Dinsmoor published his influential article "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis" that investigated the topographic evidence found in the Hekatompedon inscription (*IG* 1^3.4) and discussed the relevance of the *oikemata* mentioned therein to the architecture of the small limestone buildings.[49] Dinsmoor argued that the *oikemata* were freestanding buildings outside of the Hekatompedon, regardless of whether it was a temple or a precinct.[50] He proposed that their purpose, the secure storage of the possessions of Athena that were under the supervision of her treasurers, was comparable to the Panhellenic treasuries and so the appearance of these structures might be similar as well. The challenge was finding suitable candidates among the fragmentary architectural remains. Dinsmoor settled on Buildings B and C, whose superstructures were built into the foundations of the Pinakotheke and the Propylaia.[51] While his identification of these buildings as the *oikemata* mentioned in the Hekatompedon inscription is not tenable on epigraphic grounds,[52] Dinsmoor's efforts to identify the purpose and location of the small buildings and to explain how the elements from two of them came to be reused in the foundations of the Pinakotheke have merit.

The original location of Buildings B and C cannot be determined precisely, but there are two competing theories. Dörpfeld first postulated that Building B stood on the terrace later occupied by the Pinakotheke.[53] His proposal was based upon the reuse of its superstructure in the foundations of the Propylaia and its reconstructed plan, tristyle in antis, which was also adopted for the façade of the Pinakotheke. Eiteljorg argued against this possibility, citing the logistical challenges to dismantling a building and stockpiling its members for reuse while actively building in the same location.[54] Dinsmoor suggested that these buildings, and perhaps Building E as well, were treasuries located on the terrace to the west of the Parthenon where they stood until the completion of the Parthenon itself in 438 BCE.[55] In particular, he suggested that Buildings B and C were intentionally dismantled at the time of construction of the Chalkotheke terrace, shortly before Mnesikles began construction of the Propylaia. This would explain both the amount of material and the quality of preservation, which stands in contrast to the other small buildings.

There is very little documentation of the provenience of the hundreds of preserved architectural fragments (Table 6.2). Wiegand mentioned that the geisa of Building A were discovered in Persian destruction levels,[56] Heberdey listed the geison blocks from Building E among the fragments found in a layer to the south of the Parthenon that he believed dated to the time following the expulsion of the tyrants (*Tyrannenschutt*), and discussed the location of Archaic architectural elements that were reused in later structures or deposited in layers of fill around the Acropolis.[57] Bundgaard's publication of the archival drawings from the excavations

Table 6.2. Known Provenience of the Small Limestone Architecture from the Athenian Acropolis

	Building A	*Building C*	*Building B*	*Group 1: Raking Geisa with Half Round*	*Building E*	*Building D*	*Group 2: Geison Blocks with Cyma Reversa*
Poros Layer to East and South of Parthenon ca. 490–480 BCE (Stewart Layer 7)	Geison blocks			Geison Blocks (unproven)	Geison Blocks		
Fill Layer to South of Parthenon Periklean, ca. 447–420 BCE (Stewart Layer 3)		Geison, triglyph and metope backer				Lateral Geison, Triglyph	Geison Blocks
Pinakotheke/Propylaia Foundations ca. 437–432 BCE		Geison, triglyphs	Geison, triglyphs, wall blocks, lintel (?)				
Other		Triglyph built into later structure					

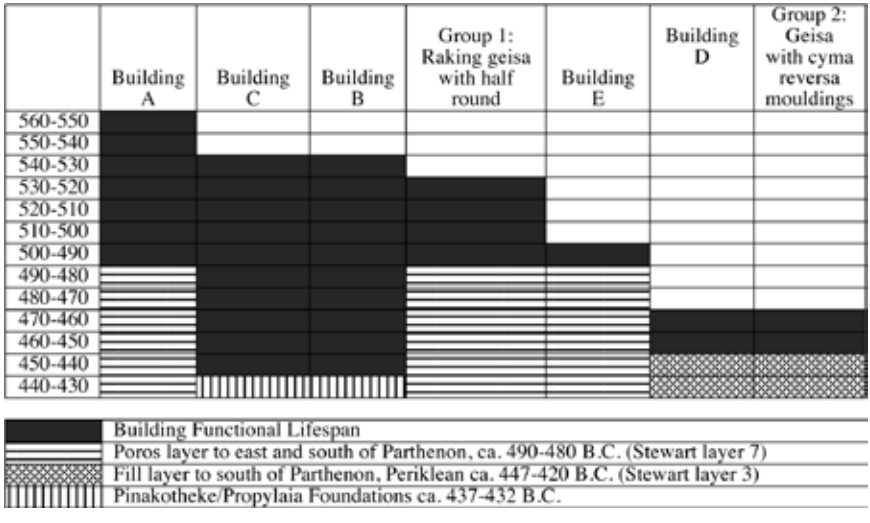
of 1882–1889 offered some additional evidence for the provenience of the small limestone architecture.[58] A geison with half round crowning molding and a triglyph block were found in the excavations to the south of the Parthenon and were immediately recognized as belonging to the same building (Building C) whose geisa are built into the foundations of the Propylaia.[59] One of the Group 2 blocks, a geison with concave soffit and cyma reversa soffit molding, was also found to the south of the Parthenon. On Bundgaard's plate 162 there are three drawings; a section of the stratigraphy from the Parthenon south foundations and extending to the south; a poros limestone geison with cyma reversa soffit molding and painted Lesbian Leaf decoration; and a marble column drum found to the south of the Parthenon. While there is no exact provenience provided for the geison block, the marble column drum was given a precise location in the drawing and was described as "lying on the slope of the embankment and entirely covered by layers of gravel." Bundgaard argued that this column drum, which belonged to the Older Parthenon, was disposed of in the period following the clearing for the Parthenon in 448 BCE and provided evidence for dating most of the layer (Bundgaard's layer a) after that date.[60] If we can assume (I acknowledge that this is by no means assured) that the geison block comes from layer (a) as well, this would mean that this geison was part of the fill laid down in Periclean times.

The terminology and chronology of the Acropolis stratigraphy is enormously complicated, but several recent studies have reexamined the archival documents from the original excavations and the material recovered from the deposits.[61] For the present study of the architectural fragments, the most important deposits are the deep layers of fill to the east and south of the Parthenon. In his recent article on the beginning of the Classical style of sculpture, Andrew Stewart investigated the character and date of the deposits along the eastern facade of the Parthenon and along its southern side using the ceramic and sculptural materials in addition to the stratigraphic evidence from the early excavations.[62] Stewart recognized several stages in the process related to the history and construction on the Acropolis. His conclusions suggest that the chronology of the deposits is directly related to phases of building activity, in particular the construction of the Older Parthenon after 490 BCE and the construction of the south wall (and the process of backfilling the vast area between the wall and the Parthenon foundations) in the Kimonian or even Periclean period. Of the architectural fragments discussed here, some (Building E geison blocks) are said to have come from the poros layer that is found on the east and south side of the Parthenon (*Tyrannenschutt*). Stewart's analysis of the pottery and sculpture from this deposit leads him to propose a date of 490–480 BCE for its deposition. Another block (Group 2, geison blocks with concave soffit and cyma reversa soffit

molding) may have come from the upper layers (Stewart Layer 3, ca. 447-420 BCE), judging from the analysis by Bundgaard.

Although we cannot provide archaeological documentation for the recovery of the small limestone architectural fragments in a specific layer of fill, there is a general understanding that they all came from the deposits to the east and south of the Parthenon. In addition, two facts speak loudly in support of this conclusion: they are all broken into small fragments and they represent many different buildings. The extraordinary volume and diversity of architectural material is matched by the fragments of sculpture (architectural and free-standing) and architectural terracottas recovered from these same layers of fill. The architectural sculpture includes fragments belonging to at least two large pediments (Hekatompedon) and four smaller sculpted pediments.[63] The volume of architectural terracottas and marble simas found on the Acropolis is staggering: there are fragments from fourteen terracotta roofs and seven marble simas from the early sixth to the early fifth century.[64] If we were to interpret the remains of the roofing systems in a similar "forensic" fashion, we would have to accept the presence of as many as twenty or twenty-one different buildings on the Acropolis in the Archaic period.[65] While it is true that the Athenians may have had the economic means and the social and religious institutions to support the construction of so many buildings, whether they were temples, treasuries or other auxiliary structures, it would be a challenge to find space within the Mycenaean/Archaic circuit wall of the Acropolis to accommodate them.

Table 6.3. Lifespan, Date, and Context of Reuse of the Small Limestone Buildings from the Athenian Acropolis



Since we have acknowledged that an understanding of the Acropolis requires an examination of a variety of evidence, a closer look at the development of the Acropolis, the life of the small buildings, the context of their reuse, and the depositional processes within the sanctuary may shed some light on this discussion. As seen in Table 6.3, there are three periods when one or more of the small limestone buildings go out of use and the architectural elements are reused or deposited in fill. The first, ca. 490–480 BCE, sees the deposition of Building A, and probably Building E and the Group 1 blocks in the poros layer to the east and south of the Parthenon. This period corresponds to the demolition of the Hekatompedon and the beginning of construction on the Older Parthenon. A second episode (reuse of fragments from Building D, Group 2, and most of the miscellaneous fragments) takes place during the second half of the fifth century when the deep fills behind the south wall of the Acropolis are deposited. A third event is the reuse of Buildings B and C in the foundations of the Propylaia shortly after 437. It therefore seems likely that the major renovations within the sanctuary, the construction of the Older Parthenon after the victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 BCE and the Periclean program in the second half of the century, coincided with the intentional removal of earlier buildings such as Buildings A, B, and C. By contrast, most of the unattributed Archaic architectural fragments as well as much of the sculpture and roofing systems came from the layers of deep fill, which may be the key to understanding their origin. Stewart, quoting Korres, points out that the volume of material required for the layers of fill between the foundations of the Older Parthenon/Parthenon and the south wall of the Acropolis needed to raise the ground from Archaic to Classical levels has been calculated at 40,000–45,000 cubic meters, which is "far more material that the Acropolis itself could have supplied."[66] This fill must have been brought in from other parts of the city and, as a result, the significant amounts of architecture, sculpture, pottery, etc., may represent monuments and buildings that originally stood elsewhere. For example, in 1996 Lucy Shoe Merritt published an early fifth-century Ionic capital which had been broken into pieces and reused in different contexts.[67] One part was discovered near the Church of St. Dionysius the Areopagite and Korres later found another among the marble piles of the Acropolis. A second capital from the same building came from a marble pile in the Agora "probably from the Post-Herulian Fortification."[68] Although the building to which these capitals belong and its location have not been identified, these examples, which are contemporary with some of the limestone architectural fragments discussed herein, demonstrate how the pieces of an Early Classical building in Athens could be broken up and dispersed in different contexts, over a long period of time. While it is also possible that some of the architectural fragments were brought

up in modern times, since many of the archaeological sites in Athens (the Acropolis, the Library of Hadrian and the Roman Agora, the Olympieion) were used as depots for ancient and medieval fragments discovered elsewhere in the city, this would not explain the presence of such a variety and volume of material recovered in the layers of Acropolis fill that was deposited in the fifth century BCE. Instead, we must reconsider the accretion processes of construction and deposition that accompanied the fifth-century renovations of the Athenian Acropolis and their effect on our understanding of the earlier sanctuary.

CONCLUSION

This study of the small limestone buildings from the Athenian Acropolis contributes a new dimension to our understanding of the development of the sanctuary in the Archaic and Early Classical period. By considering the life history of each building, the manner in which its elements were reused, and the depositional history of the Acropolis, it is possible to discern several important stages of construction and renovation in the sanctuary. While the Persian destruction is frequently cited as the primary motivation for reorganization and rebuilding, this study suggests that the building of the Older Parthenon following the battle of Marathon brought with it even greater changes to the sanctuary, including the demolition of several small buildings (A, E, Group 1). Others stood until the period of reconstruction under Pericles (D, Group 2), while two others may have lasted down to the 430s (B, C). An examination of the condition of the architectural elements and their provenience in the layers of fill to the east and south of the Parthenon suggest that the awkward and unwieldy pieces of the entablature, along with a great deal of Archaic architectural sculpture, free-standing sculpture, architectural terracottas and marble roofs, were deliberately broken up to facilitate their transportation and reuse in fill. The breakage has a double value: most of the pieces can be lifted and moved by two people, and the smaller size would settle into fill more easily than a larger, more complete block. The missing elements from the small buildings, especially the ashlar wall blocks, in all likelihood, may have been part of the poros layer or were used to build the massive Acropolis south wall.[69] It is also conceivable that some poros blocks were among the 'formless blocks' sold as building material in the nineteenth century.[70] The architectural elements and roofing systems suggest the presence of as many as 20–21 buildings dating from the sixth to early fifth centuries. But this may not mean that they all originally stood on the Acropolis itself. Some of the buildings certainly belonged to the sanctuary, but it seems likely given the incredible volume of material

needed to fill the area between the foundations of the Older Parthenon/Parthenon and its south wall that much of this material was brought in from other parts of the city. Based upon the context, variety, and quantity of material discovered on the Acropolis, it seems most likely that Buildings A, B, and C were once part of the sanctuary. The limited variety and quantity of the other fragments of other buildings, and especially their condition and provenience from the layers of fill, suggest, but do not prove, that they may have been brought in as part of the extensive terracing projects of the Periclean period.

NOTES

1. This article is dedicated to John Camp in appreciation of his knowledge, expertise, and generosity to students and colleagues. I would like to thank Kevin Daly and Lee Ann Riccardi for the opportunity to contribute to this volume and the First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the Acropolis Museum for permission to study and publish the architecture and sculpture of the small limestone buildings, especially Alkistis Choremi, Ismene Trianti, Christina Vlassopoulou, Eleni Kourinou, Nicoletta Divari-Valakou, Alexandros Mantis, and Dimitrios Pandermalis. My study of the Archaic Acropolis has benefited from discussions with Judith Binder, Nancy Bookidis, Patricia Butz, Joseph Day, Kevin Glowacki, Astrid Lindenlauf, Olga Palagia, Andrew Stewart, and Tasos Tanoulas. This research has been supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Fulbright Foundation, the Melbern G. Glasscock Center for Humanities at Texas A&M University, and the Department of Architecture at Texas A&M University.

2. Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), provides a useful summary of the history of the Acropolis.

3. Fani Mallouchou-Tufano, "The History of Intervention on the Acropolis," in *Acropolis Restoration: The CCAM Interventions*, ed. Richard Economakis (London: Academy Editions, 1994), 68–85, Fani Mallouchou-Tufano, "The Parthenon from Cyriacus of Ancona to Frédéric Boissonas: Description, Research, and Depiction," in *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. Panayotis Tournikiotis (Athens: Melissa, 1994), 162–199.

4. For a discussion of the early Iron Age Acropolis and the nature of the evidence for the earliest sanctuary of Athena, see Kevin T. Glowacki, "The Acropolis of Athens Before 566 B.C.," in ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ: Studies in Honor of *Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, ed. Kim J. Hartswick and Mary C. Sturgeon (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 79–88; Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis*, 85–98; John K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 297–316; Andreas Scholl, "Anathemata ton Archaion. Die Akropolisvotive aus dem 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. und die Staatswerdung Athens," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 121 (2006): 1–173.

5. Robin F. Rhodes, *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 28–41.

6. Mallouchou-Tufano, "History of Intervention;" Mallouchou-Tufano, "Parthenon."

7. Manolis Korres, "The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century," in *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. Panayotis Tournikiotis (Athens: Melissa, 1994), 136-161; Tasos Tanoulas, Τα προπύλαια τής Αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης, κατά τον Μεσαίωνα (Athens: He en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias, 1997), especially pages 283–313 for English summary.

8. Panayiotes Kavvadias, and Georg Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890* (Athens: Typographeion "Estia," 1906); Rudolf Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der archaischen griechischen Kunst* (Vienna: Holder, 1919), 2–9; Jens Andreas Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis 1882-1890: The Original Drawings, Edited from the Papers of Georg Kawerau* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1974); Andrew F. Stewart, "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 1, The Stratigraphy, Chronology, and Significance of the Acropolis Deposits," *AJA* 112 (2008): 377–412.

9. Fani Mallouchou-Tufano, "The Vicissitudes of the Athenian Acropolis in the 19th Century. From Castle to Monument," in *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*, ed. Panos Valavanis and Angelos Delivorrias, trans. David Hardy (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 40–50.

10. Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ausgrabung der Akropolis*; Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis 1882-1890*, 9–28.

11. Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, cols. 23–20, figures 1, 2; Bundgaard, *Athenian Acropolis 1882-1890*, 11–13.

12. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, "Der alte Athena-Tempel auf der Akropolis zu Athen," *AM* 10 (1885): 275–276. Manolis Korres, "Wilhelm Dörpfelds Forschungen zum Vorparthenon und Parthenon," *AM* 108 (1993): 59.

13. Maria Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1974).

14. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions." See especially page 378, where Stewart briefly summarizes the impact of Kavvadias' discoveries on the history of Greek sculpture.

15. Theodor Wiegand, *Die archäische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* (Cassel: Th. G. Fisher & Co., 1904).

16. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 149, and plate 13. Wiegand noted that in some cases the height of the architrave was not preserved and was restored as being equal to the height of the triglyph. Thus the height of the entablature, as well as the width of the façade, is conjectural.

17. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 1–114. It is also known as the H-Architecture, or the Bluebeard Temple. Wiegand dated the remains to the second quarter of the sixth century and proposed the reconstruction of a temple with in-antis façade that stood on the interior line of foundations discovered on the north side of the Acropolis, adjacent to the Classical Erechtheion.

18. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 115–147. This peripteral temple was dated to the time of Peisistratos, and Wiegand proposed that it replaced the earlier in-antis

building on the north side of the Acropolis. For a more recent summary of the evidence, see Manolis Korres, "Die Athena-Tempel auf der Akropolis," in *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis: Internationales Symposion vom 7. bis 9. Juli 1995 in Berlin*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner (Berlin: Archäologisches Seminar der Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), 218–243.

19. The nomenclature for these additional buildings is sometimes defined as Aa or A2, and A3, cf. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 148–171; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 143–160; William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of its Historic Development*, 3rd ed., revised (London: Batsford, 1950), reprint (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), 71, 89, and 91.

20. A summary of the scholarship is found in Korres, "Athena-Tempel."

21. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*; William Bell Dinsmoor, "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Akropolis," *AJA* 51 (1947): 109–151. Other scholars approached the subject tangentially through a consideration of roofing systems, sculpture, or topography. The marble roofs were published by Walter H. Schuchhardt, "Die Sima des alten Athenatempels der Akropolis." *AM* 60–61 (1935–1936): 1–111 and "Archaische Bauten auf der Akropolis von Athen," *Archäologische Anzeiger* 78 (1963): 797–823. A study of the poros architecture was undertaken by Immo Beyer, but his research on the small buildings was never published.

22. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 71, n. 1. Dinsmoor's grounds for disagreeing with Heberdey are unclear; he states, "Heberdey separated the members of 'A' into three buildings, but obviously wrongly, there being actually two which we may distinguish as 'A' and 'Aa.'" Dinsmoor suggested that these two buildings as well as B, C, and E, were treasuries on the Acropolis.

23. Nancy L. Klein, "The Origin of the Doric Order on the Mainland of Greece: Form and Function of the Geison in the Archaic Period" (PhD dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1991), 26–28.

24. While it is not possible to predict accurately the plan of the small buildings, it is possible to estimate the width of some of the facades, which are (with the exception of Building B) assumed to be di-style in-antis. For those buildings with enough preserved elements to calculate the building dimensions, the widths at frieze level are as follows: Building A = 4.75m, Building C = 7.27m, Building E = 4.89m. Building B was probably tri-style in antis, with a width of 9.72m.

25. Delphi: Didier Laroche, and Marie-Dominique Nenna, "Etudes sur les trésors en poros à Delphes," in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde Egeen du VIe siècle av. J.-C.: Actes du colloque d'Istambul, 23–25 mai 1991*, ed. Jacques des Courtils and Jean-Charles Moretti (Paris: Diff. de Boccard, 1993), 227–245; Olympia: Alfred Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1972), 163–179; Klaus Herrmann, "Beobachtungen zur Schatzhaus-Architektur Olympias," in *Neue Forschungen im griechische Heiligtümern*, ed. Ulf Jantzen, (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1976), 321–350. Laroche and Nenna review the evidence for the limestone treasuries at Delphi and conclude that twenty-four buildings were created in the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. The eleven treasuries at Olympia were built during this same period.

26. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 148–155, plates 12, 13.3; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 143–156; Lucy T. Shoe, *The Profiles of Greek Mouldings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 101, 103, 132, 165, plate 50.4, 6, 7;

Schuchhardt, "Archaische Bauten," cols. 809–810; Brouskari, *Acropolis Museum*, 44–48, figures 77–84.

27. Shoe, *Profiles*, 165, plate 50.7 (geison crown molding), plate 51.12 (anta capital Acropolis Museum Inv. No. 4399/4478). Shoe described the geison crown as real cavetto, rather than a hawksbeak, and suggested a date ca. 570 BCE

28. The repairs on the lower supporting surface or lateral joints must have been made prior to their placement in the building, but others on the soffit could have been done following construction. It is questionable, however, that so many blocks would have been accepted for use in the building with such obvious signs of damage. Although a much later example, Georges Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide aux IVe et IIIe s. avant J.-C.* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1961), 161, has argued that the Corinthian capital found buried beneath the tholos at Epidauros was not a model (*paradeigma*) for the other capitals, but that the inferior quality of workmanship and several breaks made it unacceptable for use in the building.

29. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 7.

30. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 162–166, figures 147, 148, 161, plate 13.4; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 4, 8, 157–159, figures 171–172; Dinsmoor, "Hekatompedon," 125–127; Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 71 and 91; Schuchhardt, "Archaische Bauten," cols. 802–809.

31. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 162–166, figure 158c. Wiegand mentions another fragment of triglyph found in the Pinakotheke foundations. A photograph from the time of Kavvadias' excavations of the Pinakotheke foundations in 1889 (DAI Akr. 147) shows two triglyph fragments resting against the east wall of the Pinakotheke. It is difficult to estimate exactly how many blocks belonging the Building C are in the foundations.

32. Acropolis Museum Inv. No. 9 clearly shows the two blocks with beveled joint surfaces that form the apex of the raking geison. A third block in the storeroom (Acropolis Museum Inv. No. 7464) comes from the lower right corner of the rake.

33. Shoe, *Profiles*, 151, plate 70.12.

34. Shoe, *Profiles*, 151, plate 70.9.

35. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 166.

36. William Bell Dinsmoor and William Bell Dinsmoor, Jr. *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis*, vol. 2, *The Classical Building*, ed. Anastasia N. Dinsmoor (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 61–65, 313–316, and figure 20.4, left, 18.1, right.

37. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 161; Tasos Tanoulas, "The Pre-Mnesiclean Cistern on the Athenian Acropolis," *AM* 107 (1992): 157.

38. Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor, *Propylaia*, 48, 61–65, and figure 20.4, left, 18.1, right.

39. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 153–154. He had also assigned six fragments of tympanum crown and an anta capital to the same building. The tympanum crown has been attributed to the H-Architecture and the association of the anta capital was never fully explained. It has been omitted from Table 6.1.

40. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 154–155. Heberdey also assigned a triglyph block to this building, although its width does not match that of the geison mutule.

41. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 154; Klein, "The Origin of the Doric Order," 26–28.

42. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 168–171, figures 169–171, plate 13.6; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 159–160, figure 173; Dinsmoor, "Hekatompedon," 126, n. 86; Klein, "The Origin of the Doric Order," 32–33.

43. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, 166–168, plate 13.5; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 4, 8, 159–160; Klein, "The Origin of the Doric Order," 38–39.

44. Shoe, *Profiles*, 66, plate 29.20-21. Shoe struggled to reconcile the reported provenience in Persian destruction levels (*Perserschutt*) with the date implied by the profile, "Had these blocks not been found in the *Perserschutt*, such an early date would not have been suspected for them."

45. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 2 and 9, discusses the discovery of the poros architecture, and Building D in particular, in the layers of fill to the south and east of the Parthenon, with the exception of the blocks from Buildings B and C, which were found in the foundation of the Pinakotheke. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 403, has laid out a very strong argument to suggest that these levels of fill date to the Periclean period, thereby resolving Shoe's expressed concern over the conflict between the profile of the cyma reversa molding and the discovery of the blocks in Persian destruction levels.

46. Nancy L. Klein, "Ionic and Ionicizing Architecture on the Athenian Acropolis," Abstract, *Archaeological Institute of America 109th Annual Meeting Abstracts* 31, Boston, 2008. http://aia.archaeological.org/webinfo.php?page=10248&searchtype=abstract&ytable=2008&sessionid=1F&paperid=1247.

47. Shoe, *Profiles*, 68, plate 30.1-2. See also Barbara A. Barletta, *The Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion*. (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, forthcoming).

48. For the reuse of architecture, see Michael Donderer, "Irreversible Deponierung von Architekturteilen bei Griechen, Etruskern, und Römern," *Jahreshefte der* Österreichischen Archäologischen *Instituts in Wien, Beiblatt* 62 (1993): 93–134; Marie-Christine Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque*, vol. 1, *Les principes de la construction*. (Paris: Picard, 2002), 118–119. One of the best-known examples of this is the Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi where the foundations are built from reused architectural elements from two earlier structures. See Didier Laroche and Marie-Dominique Nenna, "Le trésor de Sicyone et ses fondations," *BCH* 114 (1990): 241–284.

49. Dinsmoor, "Hekatompedon." For a complete analysis of the Hekatompedon inscription and restoration of the text, see Patricia A. Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoikhedon Style* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010). Ronald S. Stroud, "Adolph Wilhelm and the Date of the Hekatompedon Decrees," in *Attikai epigraphai: praktika symposiou eis mnemen Adolph Wilhelm (1864–1950)*, ed. Angelos P. Matthaiou and Georgia E. Malouchou (Athens: Hellenike Epigraphike Hetaireia, 2004), 85-97, provides additional commentary and bibliography. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 401–403, examines the context of the fragments of the inscription in his study of the Acropolis stratigraphy.

50. Dinsmoor, "Hekatompedon," 125. Dinsmoor's restoration of the fragmentary inscription is not generally accepted, see Stewart, "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 403, n. 114; Butz, *Hekatompedon Inscription*, 163–166.

51. Dinsmoor believed that Building A was a temple, as was perhaps Building E. A further consideration, based upon the evidence presented below, is that Building A may already have been dismantled by the time this inscription was written ca. 485/4 BCE. For a discussion of the reused blocks in the Pinakotheke and Propylaia, see Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor, *Propylaia*, especially pages 61–65 and 314–316.

52. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 403, n. 114; Butz, *Hekatompedon Inscription*, 163–166. Stewart advocates for Lolling's restoration of *IG* 1^3.4, lines 17–18, which refers to the oikemata *within* the Hekatompedon. This would rule out the existence of free-standing buildings elsewhere on the Acropolis.

53. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, "Zu den Bauwerken Athens," *AM* 36 (1911): 54; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 178; Tanoulas, "Pre-Mnesiclean Cistern," 156–157.

54. Harrison N. Eiteljorg II, *The Entrance to the Athenian Acropolis before Mnesicles* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1995), 58, n. 104.

55. Dinsmoor, "Hekatompedon," 126 and n. 33. See also Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor, *Propylaia*, 23, especially n. 73.

56. Theodor Wiegand, "Archaische Marmorsimen aus Athen II," *Antike Denkmäler* (1890): 39. His comments were tangential to a discussion of the marble simas found on the Acropolis. He states that the geisa with holes that correspond to the marble rosette sima [Building A] were found in Persian destruction levels.

57. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 2–6. See discussion of the Acropolis stratigraphy below.

58. Bundgaard, *Athenian Acropolis 1882–1890*.

59. Ibid., 53, plate 216.1.

60. Ibid., 22, 49, plate 162.

61. Astrid Lindenlauf, "Der Perserschutt der Athener Akropolis," in *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis: Internationales Symposium vom 7. Bis 9. Juli 1995 in Berlin*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner (Berlin: Archäologisches Seminar der Freien Universität, 1997), 46–115; Martin Steskal, *Der Zerstörungsbefund 480/70 bei der Athener Acropolis: Eine Fallstudie zum etablierten Chronologiegerüst* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2004); Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions."

62. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 389–393.

63. Brunilde S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Ares, 1993), 282–291.

64. Christina Vlassopoulou, "Decorated Architectural Terracottas from the Athenian Acropolis," *Hesperia* 59 (1990): i–xxi; Nancy A. Winter, *Greek Architectural Terracottas: From the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), Roof 1 (ca. 590–580 BCE), Roofs 2–4, 7–8, 10–12 (570–540 BCE), Roof 14 (520 BCE), Roof 15, replacement for Roof 12 (510–500 BCE), and Roofs 16–18 (500–480 BCE); Schuchhardt, "Archaische Bauten"; Aenne Ohnesorg, *Inselionische Marmordächer* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993).

65. With the exception of one example cited above, it unlikely that any of these roofs would have been in use long enough to require a complete replacement. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for this volume who suggested that only the decorated parts of the roof were replaced, and these are the fragments most likely to be collected during excavation. This would in turn reduce the

minimum number of buildings represented during the Archaic period, but there would still be a greater number of roofs than buildings. The average life of a terracotta roof, in the modern world, is nearly a hundred years with proper maintenance. This estimate is based on modern manufacturing techniques. See The Clay Roof Tile Council Production and Technical Information, accessed March 1, 2009, http://www.clayroof.co.uk/production/quality_control.htm.

66. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 389. To appreciate the considerable volume represented by this amount of fill, the interior passenger space of a Boeing 747–400 is 31,285 cubic feet (876 cubic meters), "the largest passenger interior volume of any commercial airliner, which is equivalent to more than three houses each measuring 1,500 square feet (135 square meters)," http://www.boeing.com/commercial/747family/pf/pf_facts.html.

67. Lucy Shoe Merritt, "Athenian Ionic Capitals from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 65 (1996): 121–174, 134 and n. 35 (catalog 16B).

68. Merritt, "Athenian Ionic Capitals," 134.

69. Stewart, "Persian and Carthaginian Invasions," 389, estimates that the south wall has a volume of 20,000 cubic meters. See also Manolis Korres, "The Pedestals and the Akropolis South Wall," in *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis: The Pergamene "Little Barbarians" and Their Roman and Renaissance Legacy*, ed. Andrew F. Stewart (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 274–281, figures 283–285.

70. Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, 4–6; Vasileios Petrakos, Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία. Η ιστορία των 150 χρόνων της 1837–1987 (Athens: En Athēnais Archaiologikē Hetaireia, 1987), 29–32; Mallouchou-Tufano, "Vicissitudes," 42.

7

"To Market, To Market": Pottery, The Individual, and Trade in Athens

Elizabeth M. Langridge-Noti

This paper explores the relationship of ancient trading practices in late archaic Athens to pot shape and to the visual choices of potters and painters within the Athenian Potters' Quarter.[1] Although evidence for the figured pottery trade is not extensive,[2] considering pottery in its excavated context permits a more nuanced view of what does exist.[3] In fact, as more figured pottery appears from documented excavations and as more pottery from older excavations is documented through archival research, it has become clear that, while complete accuracy of find spots for Athenian figured pottery will never exist, it may be possible to determine some consumption trends for the work of an individual painter or potter.[4] This study considers the evidence for the deliberate choices that could be made by individuals at a number of stages during the making and selling of figured pottery, from initial conception and production to consumption. My goal is to illuminate the variety of choices and opportunities that would have been available, in particular, to the producer and the trader of figured pottery. My research suggests that painters and potters, traders and customers made decisions about pottery based on what they believed would suit a particular market or situation. Two groups of vases attributable to the Eucharides Painter initially led me to consider these issues. The first group is a series of four volute-kraters that were found in Athens, Corinth, Corfu, and Pompeii. The geographical locations of these places suggest the volute-kraters may have been exported via a common trading route. The second group consists of three column-kraters found in graves at Spina.

The four volute-kraters from Athens (Figure 7.1a), Corinth (Figure 7.1b), Corfu (Figure 7.2a), and Pompeii (Figure 7.2b) are very fragmentary with only parts of the lip and neck surviving.[5] All four vases have features that permit attribution to the Eucharides Painter such as breasts marked by a central squat triangle and ski-slope-like noses. Comparisons with other vases attributable to this painter suggest that the volute-kraters were created during the same phase of his career.[6] Three of the four are similar—although not identical—in their iconography and placement of decorative motifs for the single surviving sides.[7] The Athenian, Corfiote and Pompeian vases were discovered in sanctuary dumps.[8] The vase from Corinth comes from a deposit in the Potters' Quarter that the excavator suggested was a dump from a terracotta factory (although the presence of Athenian pottery within the material was not explained).[9] Other fragmentary volute-kraters, also from the first quarter of the fifth century but attributed to other painters, are known from the Athenian Acropolis and also known from the sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii.[10] The Corfiote material is not fully published at this point so no further conclusions about the composition of the deposit found there can be made.

The three column-kraters from the Valle Trebbe cemetery at Spina also display characteristic stylistic features of the Eucharides Painter, such as deep chests with a central flattened triangle, and straight-line toes (Figures 7.3). These belong, however, to a later point in his painting career than the volute-kraters.[11] The three column-kraters are nearly identical in size and their decorative motifs are common to those on other contemporary column-kraters. The iconography of these pots, while not identical, is similar. All of them display scenes showing the courtship and pursuit of young men; on one pot by a winged god (Figure 7.3a) and on the other two by bearded males, apparently human (Figures 7.3b). Two of the vases were repaired in antiquity at similar areas of the foot and lower body.[12] The fact that these column-kraters were found at a single site, while the volute-kraters come from sites spread from Athens to Pompeii, provides an opportunity to consider different marketing patterns for vases of a similar size and function within the work of a single painter. In the discussion that follows, I will situate these two case studies within the broader scholarly picture of production and trade.

PRODUCING POTS: THE INDIVIDUAL WORKSHOP

Considering the size and make-up of ceramic workshops highlights the fact that small clusters of multi-ethnic craftsmen would have been the norm in ancient Athens when the Eucharides Painter worked there. The literary and archaeological evidence demonstrates that the Athenian

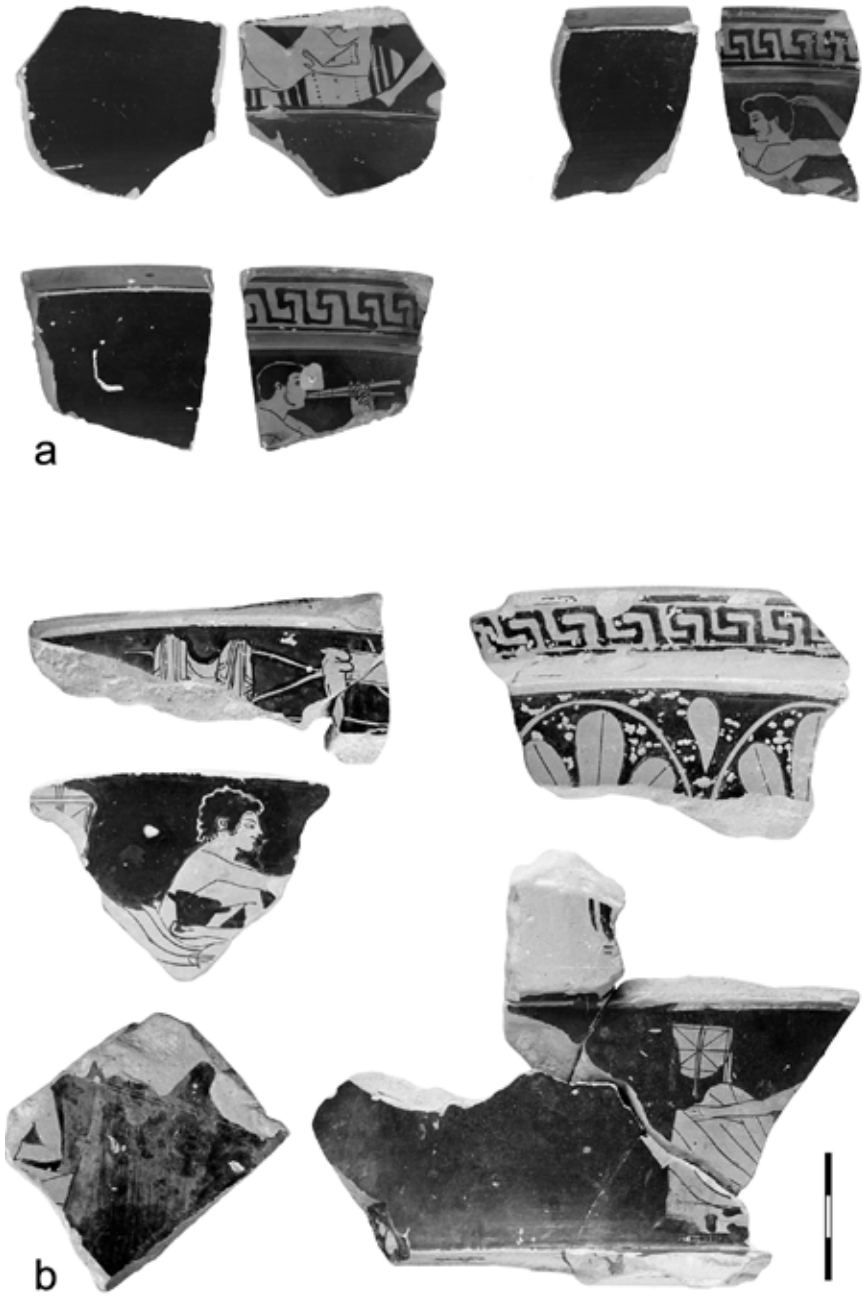


Figure 7.1. a: Athenian Acropolis 755.
Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photographer: Irini Miari). Copyright Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund; b: Corinth Excavations, KP1156.
Courtesy of the Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Figure 7.2. a: Corfu, MR1149. b: Pompeii 19284.
Courtesy of the H′ Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Copyright Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza Speciale per I Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

vase-painter would not have worked within a static or purely Athenian-focused milieu.[13] Indeed, those working in the Athenian Potters' Quarter would have responded to a complex combination of differing life experiences, needs, and marketing possibilities.

Traditional studies that have focused on painterly style, as well as painter and potter signatures, have been able to illuminate many of the interconnections among Athenian workshops.[14] When signatures are present, it can be clearly demonstrated that painters and potters had multiple working relationships. This complexity is further fleshed out by stylistic considerations that indicate more than one painter might work on a single vase.[15] The evidence suggests that the majority of workshops consisted of relatively small, established groups of painters and potters with

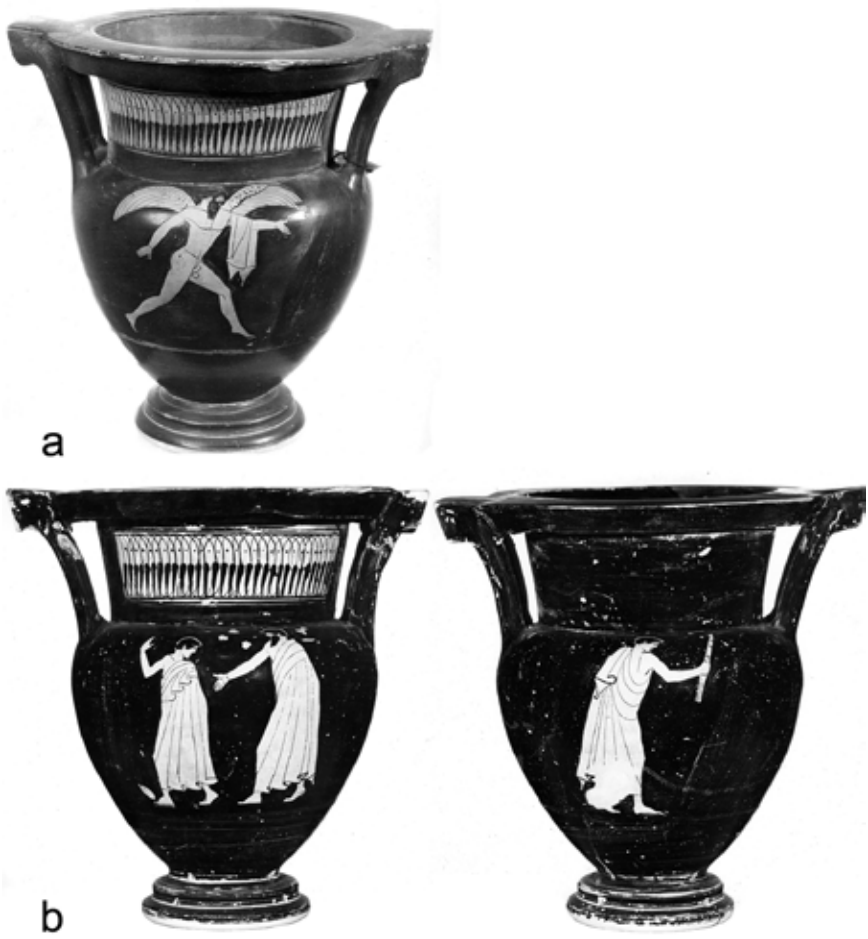


Figure 7.3. a: Ferrara, Archaeological Museum 2666; b: Ferrara, Archaeological Museum 2664.
Photos courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara.

what might be termed fuzzy edges that suggest some flexibility in how these groups interacted and in movement among them, much as John Oakley reconstructed for the Achilles Painter in what is a paradigmatic stylistic workshop study.[16] This is, indeed, also the situation that can be constructed for the Eucharides Painter and those working closely with him such as the Nikoxenos Painter, who is often seen as the Eucharides Painter's teacher. These two were related both in the way they painted as well as through the potters for whom they worked.[17]

Workshop dumps excavated in Athens often appear to be composed of quantities of stylistically related material and therefore confirm many aspects of the reconstruction developed from style and attribution.[18] An important workshop dump found by the Greek Archaeological Service at the juncture of Lenormant and Konstantinopoleos Streets in Athens is a case in point.[19] Here, a large amount of homogeneous late black-figure pottery came to light in association with three kilns, with dumps containing broken pottery and kiln supports and with rooms also containing pottery and stacked kiln supports. The excavators believe that the area must have held one or more workshops that supplied the adjacent fifth-century BCE graveyard.

A second example is a largely unpublished find from Marathon Street containing a large number of fragmentary cups, skyphoi, and wasters (kiln debris), attributed to the Brygos Painter and others stylistically related to him.[20] If traces of a kiln can be confirmed, it would indicate the existence of a potter's workshop nearby.[21] Material from this deposit has been dated from the second quarter through the end of the fifth-century BCE, although it is unclear if the material indicating the existence of a workshop was present throughout the deposit.[22]

Two other deposits near the ancient urban center contribute to our picture of stylistically related workshop deposits, although they leave less information about their physical find spots.[23] The first is a deposit of cups that can be attributed to the Jena Painter, which came from somewhere on Hermes Street, and the second is a deposit of bell-kraters from near the Theseion Metro stop that can be attributed to the Painter of the Athens Dinos, but also containing a small amount of material attributable to other related painters. All four of these cases display relatively homogenous groups of stylistically related pottery, and therefore correspond to the workshop reconstructions suggested by earlier stylistic studies like those noted above.

Further evidence that can be brought to bear on workshop structure includes representations of potting on the pottery itself or on related items.[24] Here, however, one needs to take into account the emblematic nature of the representations. They do not present a true picture of the size or composition of workshops, but rather show the minimum number of individuals necessary to complete a specific task. These pictures do, however, suggest that small workshops were more likely to have been the norm.

Our knowledge of Athenian ceramic production has also been enriched by ethnoarchaeological studies, which provide useful models to consider for the Athenian industry. They help to explain the apparent variability that can be found in Athenian workshops.[25] Peacock's classification of the Roman pottery industry using ethnoarchaeological parallels is particularly helpul as a starting point. Athenian potting workshops oscillated

between his categories of small 'individual workshops' and 'nucleated workshops' with a number of employees. In both cases, these were models of businesses that produced wares for a market.[26] Peacock noted that, in many cases, the nucleated urban potteries he examined became year-round operations, although examples existed in which farming and pottery-making were successfully combined.[27] Most of the urban workshops also produced a wide range of pottery in an attempt to meet all the needs of the towns in which they were situated, and they were inclined to work in close proximity with one another in order to share resources, such as water and kilns.[28] Finally, urban workshops tended to be larger than their rural counterparts and could, at times, provide a major industry for the town. This is what is usually assumed for Athens.[29]

Peacock's observations can be supplemented by other ethnoarchaeological studies in the Mediterranean to confirm our observations on the Athenian evidence. The potters' community in Oristano, Sardinia has records from the seventeenth century CE and later, indicating that until the modern period, multiple potteries with a number of workers were located outside the city walls in an area named after them.[30] Only recently have individual potters become isolated from their fellows.[31] One pottery comprised an ex-potter who had bought a number of workshops and employed fifteen people to manufacture pottery.[32] Other inferences can be made from a pottery-making community of fifteen workshops in Deir el-Gharbi, Egypt. Each had a main potter and three assistants clustered together in groups of three to five workshops around wells, kilns, and clay-working facilities that indicating that major resources and financial outlay were shared.[33]

Workshop size has also been examined in detail by Hasaki both archaeologically and ethnographically and she confirms the relatively small size of ancient Athenian workshops.[34] Her considerations of what the archaeological material, especially kilns and architectural remains, might signify in terms of workshop size and structure are especially significant for Athens. Her observation that the output of any given workshop was constrained by the physical space available is particularly important. As Hasaki shows, workshop organization cannot be reconstructed based purely on theories of how many pots a single individual could have made. The amount of storage and kiln space the workshop had must also be taken into account.[35] Thus, although fourth-century sources indicate the possibility of larger workshops for other crafts, and this has been suggested for some Athenian and Corinthian pottery workshops, the physical evidence in Athens may better support the idea of small workshops with shared resources within a largely nuclear urban industry.[36]

Thus, according to a variety of archaeological and ethnographic evidence, urban nucleated potteries such as the ones in Athens tended to

be large, with six to eight men per workshop, although even bigger ones are known.[37] The archaeological evidence also confirms that pottery workshops were outside the immediate urban core of cities and focused instead on proximity to good natural resources, although the resources considered most important differed from site to site.[38]

Furthermore, the mix of pot shapes and wares attributed to a single painter or potter or found in a single deposit associated with the making of pottery, suggests that some shops had a diverse workforce that produced more than just decorated wares.[39] Scholars also point to the close association of potting areas with other types of crafts that might have relied on interaction with potteries to fulfill jobs.[40] The periodic need for diversity (or, perhaps, bulk) may also have led to movement among workshops, as can be seen in Cyprus in the nineteenth and twenieth centuries, where the actual opening of new urban pottery workshops was unusual since the capital outlay for a 'start-up' was expensive. Rather, new 'master' potters 'floated' between already existing shops.[41] This type of observed movement might also help to explain some of the fuzzy boundaries in the stylistic connections among Athenian potters and painters. Indeed, the Eucharides Painter's production of both black-figure and red-figure pottery in a wide array of shapes and by a number of different potters would appear to support this idea. More research may well reveal black-slipped pottery or plainware being made by the same group of potters as those working with the Eucharides Painter, especially as more profiles become available and cross-shape studies become more common.[42]

For what survives of the volute-kraters considered here, it is possible that a single potter was responsible, but the column-kraters from the Spina group are more complicated (Figure 7.4). Their profiles show a set of comparable features in the barely projecting upper and outer rim and fairly broad curve under the rim. The foot, however, is slightly different on all three examples and echoes the differences in foot treatment seen in the larger column-kraters attributable to the Eucharides Painter in both Ferrara and Florence. Although all are stepped torus bases, the thickness of the base and the complexity of the underside on the smaller kraters suggest at least two different hands. More published profiles of vases, particularly from Spina and the surrounding sites, might help to clarify the significance of these differences with respect to the individual potter.

A further consideration for the individual workshop is the nationality of the potters and painters themselves. Signatures on pots indicate that not all workers in the potters' quarter were Athenian citizens; some were certainly slaves or metics.[43] Epigraphical evidence from the late fifth century, such as on the building inscriptions associated with the Erechtheion, indicates the presence of a large proportion of slaves and metics in the workforce who worked alongside the Athenians themselves for other

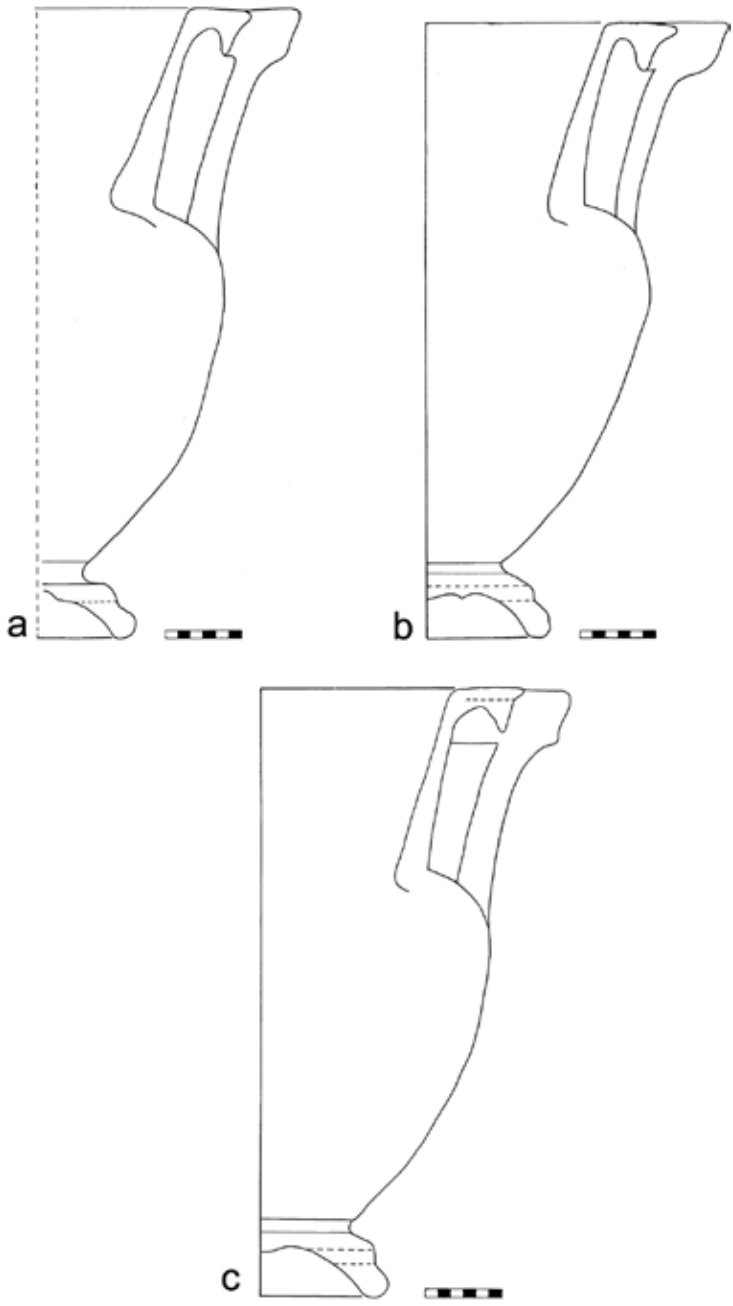


Figure 7.4. Profiles of the column-kraters in Figure 7.3. a: Ferrara, Archaeological Museum 2639; b: Ferrara, Archaeological Museum 2666; c: Ferrara, Archaeological Museum 2664.
Drawings E. Langridge-Noti, inkings A. Reijling

jobs.[44] Both signatures and inscriptions indicate a multi-cultural workforce and variability in workshop structure, indicating that the idiom in which both the potters and painters worked was not a purely Athenian one.

MAPPING MAKERS: WHERE WERE THE CERAMIC WORKSHOPS IN ATHENS?

Most of the urban potting activity in the Archaic and Classical periods appears to have taken place in the northwest area of the city—an area that had ready access to water with the Eridanos and the Kiphissos rivers running nearby.[45] Evidence for workshops in other parts of Athens as well as in Attica also exists, although it is unclear if any of these workshops supplied more than local needs.[46]

Many scholars have noted the association of potteries with major roads. In Athens, this also meant proximity to the cemeteries, where many of the products of these workshops were used. Pottery kilns and workshops do not appear to have been located within Attic sanctuaries, despite their demand for pottery.[47] This raises the question of how location and access might affect the distribution of pottery. For example, a large number of the Eucharides Painter's pots were found at Eleusis, while none are known from Brauron, despite the large amount of decorated pottery found there. Perhaps workshops took advantage of their placement along the routes leading out of the city as well as their accessibility either to retail shops or to other types of middlemen to help facilitate the movement of their pottery to a particular sanctuary or other destination.[48]

Indeed, although trade in decorated pots is usually considered in terms of sea transport, road systems must also have affected how pots were acquired or moved within, around, and away from Athens.[49] Changes in the placement of Athens' central agora and ports by the end of the Persian Wars as well as the increased closeness of ties to Eleusis may have changed the way in which people used the various roads that entered and exited through the gates in Athens' fortification walls.[50] These changes would have made the routes to the north and northwest of the city more frequented and perhaps encouraged the development of pottery workshops in that part of the city during the time when the Eucharides Painter was working. This change in circulation may further explain the large amount of the Eucharides Painter's pottery that is found in Eleusis rather than elsewhere in Attica as circulation in the northwest increased.[51] Indeed, within Attica and outside the Acropolis, Eleusis and the Classical Agora are the only places where more than one of the Eucharides Painter's vases have been found together. Both of these areas are readily accessible from the northwest.

PROCURING POTTERY 1: CONDITIONS FOR BUYING AND SELLING

The number of ways potters and painters might have sold their wares illustrate the complexity of exchange within Athens itself. The sale of goods—not necessarily pottery—through a workshop-home is well-documented by literary and archaeological evidence in Athens, as well as by ethnographic data.[52] Two frequently cited Athenian examples of the workshop-home are those of the marble workers of Mikion and Menon and that of Simon the shoemaker.[53] In both cases, the layout of the architectural remains indicates a dwelling place, as do some of the finds, but the large amount of material remains suggesting marble-working in the former house and shoe-making in the latter indicates their use as workshops as well.[54] Although areas where pottery was made have been found in Athens, it is unclear whether the excavated architecture associated with them was similar to the workshop-homes in the Agora.[55] Furthermore, although a workshop's proximity to the Athenian Agora has often been thought to imply sale of work *in situ*, some of the pottery workshops that can be identified near the Agora sent their wares overseas.[56] Thus, a workshop's location near the center of Athens or in the area of the Kerameikos did not necessarily mean local consumption of its goods. Indeed, closer examination of the evidence suggests that a much broader range of mechanisms existed for the sale of goods, including pottery, and that this would have affected what pottery, and how much, ended up on the export market.

The Greek terminology used for both workshop and retail shop also reveals a richness in how goods were marketed within Athens.[57] The primary term, *ergasterion*, is often translated as 'shop', although a more precise translation as 'workshop' would appear to be preferable. It is also the term that is typically used for the translation of workshop-home.[58] Other terms, such as *kapeloi* and *metaboleis*, normally translated as retailers or merchants, indicate that goods could be sold in permanent establishments unrelated to where they were made or produced.[59] Both terms refer to 'middlemen' who appear to have purchased goods from *emporoi* or from other *kapeloi* and then sold these goods to yet other *kapeloi* or to consumers.[60] Neither was necessarily an importer of goods. This has important implications because this group of merchants could sell local goods that they themselves did not produce.[61] The fact that these terms exist implies permanent sales establishments for the sale of goods, perhaps including pottery, physically unconnected to actual workshops in Athens. This idea is supported by a series of deposits in the area of the Athenian Agora. These deposits lack common workshop finds like wasters and trial pieces, so they were more likely to have been from retail shops than from

workshops themselves.[62] The similarities in the pot profiles, however, and the small groups of painters found in any one of these deposits suggest that if indeed they were retail shops, then they were intimately connected with a particular workshop or, perhaps, a small number of workshops.[63] Temporary stalls were certainly also a feature of the Athenian Agora and the possibility should not be ruled out that at certain times of year or at certain types of markets, this was how pottery was displayed, perhaps even in stalls set up by an individual workshop itself.[64]

Although the Athenian Agora was the most obvious market in ancient Athens, it was certainly not the only one. Thus, it should not be assumed that the Agora was the ideal market to display goods that were meant for export to foreigners, or even to all Athenians.[65] Indeed, although some scholars appear to deny the possibility of markets outside the urban core of Athens, epigraphic evidence indicates the certain existence of deme agoras. This is expected, for an Athenian countryside without local markets seems would be much too simple and idealized.[66] In fact, it is probably worth noting here that Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes' *Archarnians* was able to create a market agora right outside of his own home.[67]

In some places, these same deme agoras may also have served as border markets that would have helped to regulate the flow of imported goods into Athens. They presumably also served as conduits for goods leaving Athens and would thus have been desirable places to show wares.[68] These border markets may also have served as transfer points, as is suggested for Corinth.[69] Further conduits for the export of Attic vases would have been the *emporia* of Piraeus, named by literary sources as the Hippodamian Agora and the *Deigma*. It has been suggested that the former might have been the primary display space for goods coming into Athens overland, while the latter was used for goods coming by sea.[70] Both of these markets were likely to have been used for the display and sale of goods 'in bulk' or batches rather than as single units.

References to the *Deigma* are scanty and mostly embedded in stories that are not focused on the use of the area itself.[71] These stories do, however, reveal a few features of the area. The *Deigma* was quite close to the port itself so that goods could be offloaded and, presumably, onloaded easily. Indeed, its placement would have made it more likely to have been an export/import display space than the Agora where the available goods were probably geared to either the city market or the individual buyer. Although most scholars have suggested that the *Deigma* was primarily for merchants bringing goods into Athens, the (admittedly) scanty evidence suggests that this could also have been the ideal place for Athenian craftsmen to show their wares.[72] For the Hippodamian Agora, the surviving evidence permits us a clear idea of where it stood, but is much less clear on exactly how it was used.[73] It appears likely, however, that it

also was a display area for those looking for merchandise to take out of Athens or that had come into Athens since sources refer to more than one *emporio* in Peiraeus.[74]

In fact, if retail shops in the Athenian Agora were showing and selling products from different workshops, then it is also probable that showing and selling pottery away from one's workshop and in Peiraeus is as likely if not more so. The existence of more than one market in Peiraeus further indicates differentiation in how goods would have left Athens because they could have been displayed in multiple situations. Thus, workshops could have focused on displaying and selling their wares in various specific areas, and this would have led to differing patterns of distribution for individual workshops and not necessarily a single pattern in the archaeological evidence for any individual painter. Indeed, the two primary case studies involving the Eucharides Painter presented here support the probability of variety of display and sale since the column-kraters all end up at a single destination while the volute-kraters are found spread from Athens to Pompeii.

PROCURING POTTERY 2: WHO BUYS?

The discussion of where people were buying pots leads directly to the question of who was actually making the purchase. Two main written sources give specifics about those involved in the business of moving goods around the Mediterranean. The first is from the fourth century, later than the period in which the Eucharides Painter worked. These are the Athenian bottomry loan court speeches from the Demosthenic corpus.[75] It is clear from these speeches that *naukleroi* and many *emporoi* were an international lot that included Massiliotes, Phoenicians, Euboans and Byzantines, as well as Athenians.[76] The second set of written sources consists of fifth-century sanctuary dedications at places like Gravisca in Italy and from the island of Aigina. An Etruscan dedication found on Aigina indicates some sort of Etruscan presence on the island, while Aiginetans and, possibly, Phaselians and Euboians dedicated votives at the 'trading sanctuary' at Gravisca.[77] These sanctuary dedications show that during the fifth century BCE, shipping was certainly international.[78] In fact, incentives to trade with Athens appear to have existed from the sixth century BCE under Solon, and these general efforts probably helped to create a larger market for decorated vases, purely by virtue of the expanded presence of traders in Athens.[79] The sources suggest that a large portion of *naukleroi* and *emporoi* were not Athenians, demonstrating that Athenians did not necessarily make all the decisions about what should be carried and sold. Although many Athenians were no doubt involved in

trade in one form or another, this is another indication of the complexity of the trading systems at work in Athens.[80]

The fourth-century bottomry loan speeches also confirm what has been found in shipwreck excavations. While a cargo might have favored a particular item, diverse products often appear to have been desirable.[81] Goods specified in the speeches are grain and (expensive) wine—but these may have been mentioned in part because of the psychological importance of these goods to the Athenian jury awarding damages, as well as because these goods formed the bulk of most cargoes. Fluidity in what was being traded and where it was being traded is seen both in the legalities that restricted some types of trade, such as the grain trade, but also in that traders could make the decision to change course if they found a better, or perhaps, easier and safer, market elsewhere.[82] It is this flexibility that makes a single absolute pattern impossible to find within the existing evidence. The speeches also remind us of one further proviso that must be borne in mind, especially for shipwrecks. Rarely do the speeches suggest that ships held the cargo of a single trader, rather there appears to have been space for more than one person's goods aboard each ship. This is something difficult to confirm within the archaeological record.[83]

Both the bottomry loan speeches and the material found on the ground suggest that the merchant buyers were often aware of the needs or demands of a particular market and sought to target those desires. They also suggest that the producer was at least sometimes aware of what would sell in a particular market.[84] As more material is excavated and published, examples of targeted selling are multiplying, although the more obvious examples have long been known.[85] The guiding principle for the targeted selling of pottery was often shape; indeed a shape with a history in an area could serve as a predecessor to the foreign, and therefore rarer, import.[86] Shipwrecks with large quantities of one particular shape, such as kylikes, are suggestive of this type of targeting.[87] It is possible that targeting may be what drove the sale of the Eucharides Painter's pelikai. Examples of these from a batch made early in his career appear to have been traded at sites from Rhodes to Samothrace, and examples from a later group, with somewhat similar iconography involving Silenus, appeared in the Black Sea.[88] If one considers the popularity of the late fifth–fourth century pelikai in this latter area, including those with Dionysiac themes, it does suggest that some *emporoi* at least were aware of what would sell in terms of shape, function, or thematic decoration. The column-kraters in Spina would be another example of probable targeted sales. At Spina, imported Attic figured kraters appear to have been desirable, column-kraters more than others, and these kraters were found in most of the published graves.

Since, as we have seen, traders might frequent more than one display area in a single season, findspots for a single painter may not be com-

pletely consistent. For each trader, the decision about what to buy would have depended on where he was trading and what had been successful in previous years. Then on a return trip through Athens, a trader might let a potter or painter know what had sold well—or perhaps painters and potters observed this from neighboring workshops.[89] In fact, long-term relationships between traders and producers must have been difficult to create and sustain, especially for those involved in long-haul trade where a trip or two from east to west and back might have been all that was possible in a single season.[90]

If groups of vases with similar scenes from a single workshop were being shipped together, as apparently was the case with both the volute-kraters and the column-kraters, then batch-buying must also be considered. Two types of batches are known: batches of pots bought together by a purchaser, and sets of vessels meant to be used together (but not necessarily bought together) in graves, sanctuaries, or households. Both types can be studied in more depth as more contextualized material becomes available through publication. Because of their matching sizes and similar iconography, the volute-kraters and the Spina column-kraters attributable to the Eucharides Painter may well have been bought in batches by a trader. Indeed, at Spina, and nearby Bologna, other groups of vases of matching sizes and iconography like those of the Eucharides Painter's column-kraters can be found throughout the fifth century.[91]

Although 'matching sets' of pots with similar iconographic and decorative patterning, potentially purchased at the same time, do not appear to have been desired by ancient buyers, 'sets' of pottery purchased to be used together do occur. These are perhaps most easily encountered in graves, where the pottery often seems to have had a coherent function, but observation of the same coherence can also be seen for household goods and sanctuaries.[92] In the Spina graves, a krater plus drinking vessels of a variety of different forms and different fabrics were clearly a standard part of the tomb furniture. Thus, a 'drinking set' was composed for ritual or communal drinking at the tomb itself. Still, all that can be stated with certainty about the required composition of such sets is that, in the published graves, imported kraters appear to have been desirable, and drinking vessels were necessary. The form and fabric of the vessels changes from grave to grave.[93] It is also clear that the sets were not made up from or bought as a single batch, since the krater in particular can often differ in date by a decade or two from the other pottery in a single tomb.[94]

Furthermore, two of the Spina vases by the Eucharides Painter showed signs of repair, suggesting that they were used prior to burial or perhaps were broken in transit. Their use in the grave in either case indicates that, despite the breaks, the pots were still considered capable of functioning

and thus were not seen as garbage.[95] That is, either the pots were used for a time, broken, and then repaired before being buried, or they were repaired after being damaged on the ship and even so, were still valuable enough to be sold.[96] The idea of use before burial is also supported by the chronological discrepancies seen with earlier decorated and later undecorated pottery buried in the same graves, suggesting that a continuing value was given to a decorated pot from a foreign locale.[97]

MOVING MARKETABLES: WHO MOVES?

What happened after a non-Athenian buyer or an *emporos* actually bought from a display space, retail shop, or workshop in Athens? Again, my desire is to demonstrate the nuance in a picture that is usually divided into large-scale and formal activity or small-scale and informal activity.[98] First the quantity of decorated pottery found in any single shipwreck varied widely during this period.[99] In most cases, a significant portion of cargo consisted of items other than pottery. Indeed, the bottomry loan speeches of the fourth century also make clear that mixed cargoes—or, indeed, taking on new cargo at multiple stops—were the usual practice.[100]

Shipwrecks and evidence from literature indicate that the boats involved in long-distance trade were quite large, normally about seventy-five tons.[101] A third-century decree from Thasos, in fact, indicates that small boats would not have been permitted in the commercial harbor, and decrees from Athens suggest similar restrictions for its port.[102] Small boats must have put in elsewhere. The desire appears to have been a rapid turnaround for bulk goods in the port itself.

The variability in how goods moved is also supported by the variety of mercantile marks on the feet of vases attributable to the Eucharides Painter, even more so if it is assumed that each individual different mark indicated a different person involved in moving pots.[103] Multiple marks on a single pot suggest multiple stops on the path to the pot's final destination.[104] The concentration of trademarks in Etruria suggests that here the marks may have had a much more specific significance there than scholars have recognized hitherto—or that Etruria was a much more structured market than others in the Mediterranean: a market that demanded that the vases be marked in a way that other markets did not require.[105] Furthermore, because of the concentration of similar marks at particular sites, it is possible that they may indicate a directed and deliberate choice on the part of an *emporos* to bring pots to a specific market.[106] Finally, the continued association of an individual mark with a particular painter suggests the possibility of continuing relationships between painter and trader over more than one trading voyage. Both the con-

tinued association of potter/painter and mark and the concentration of marks at particular sites confirm that trade was not completely casual.[107] A general lack of correspondence, however, between trademarks on plain and on painted pottery suggests different people or different mechanisms for moving different types of pottery. This supports the idea that pottery of different types that was manufactured in the same shop was displayed in different ways.[108]

PICTURE PRODUCTION: WHO DECIDES?

The variety in the broad patterns of shape or iconographic distribution in finds outside of Athens may also have been influenced by other factors. For one thing, a pot was a commodity and, as such, ascribed a fluctuating value by the community within which it was used. It was also ascribed meaning, which again might fluctuate over time and space as it reflects and reinforces the identity of the individual owner within that community.[109] I would stress that the community may not have always been Athens and that the iconography of a pot thus needed to be readable elsewhere.[110] Another factor to consider is that of the 'Middle Ground'; an idea that permits influence on the final product from both the potter and painter in Athens and the customer in the pot's ultimate market. This customer, indeed, may transform the original use of the pot or the meaning of an object or a scene.[111]

It has been noted above that non-Athenians were part of the community of painters as well as making up a large portion of the individuals who would have facilitated export of these vases from Athens itself. Both points suggest that a broad Mediterranean view would have probably played a role in what was chosen at the market for export. Indeed, certain shapes have been always been recognized as ones directed towards a specific foreign market, such as the copies of Etruscan bucchero shapes made by the Nikosthenic workshop and Tyrrhenian group.[112] Examination of the vases attributable to the Eucharides Painter indicate that he participated in at least one of these shape-directed markets with the column-kraters that were buried in graves in Spina, but also possibly with his pelikai from the north Aegean.[113] Interestingly enough, although the contexts of certain shapes do suggest that there were different marketing strategies for the different shapes themselves, it does seem particularly hard to find overlapping patterns of distribution between shapes, although a broader examination both of routes and identified major ports may clarify this.[114]

The Eucharides Painter, however, must have been aware of what types of scenes could be understood in the markets he was targeting. Certainly,

the drinking scenes with their reclining youths on the necks of the volute-kraters could have been read within the broader context of ritual drinking (not necessarily the Athenian symposium) at any of the places where they were found. This particular type of scene, as with the departure scene on the vase from Corfu and the battle scenes that were also popular on volute-kraters, were 'generic' enough to be acceptable in most Mediterranean circumstances. This choice of 'generic' scenes was, I am sure, deliberate and appropriate in the circumstances of production and trade. [115] The group of black-figure pelikai with unusual scenes of music-playing satyrs from the Aegean and the Black Sea may be another group that was directed towards a particular market. The lack of names for the figures on these pelikai, although the scenes are mythological and the painter may have been thinking of specific figures when he painted the vases, does suggest that some ambiguity in the reading of a scene might well have been deliberate, since viewers from different geographic areas could read the scenes differently.[116] The iconography of the Spina vases is also ambiguous, although the imagery of erotic pursuit does appear across the Mediterranean and in the form seen on these Spina vases, the imagery is rather subdued. I do wonder if the winged figure often thought to be Zephyros pursuing Hyakinthos might not be read differently within the mythological context of Etruscan Spina (figure 7.3a). Again it seems probable that the painter was thinking of a specific figure or at least a specific type of figure when he painted the vase, but that he was aware that potential customers in the destination market might see the vase differently.

CONCLUSION

This brief examination of the potential workings of Athenian potteries and their markets in Athens has demonstrated a complexity in the making and selling of Athenian figured pottery that is rarely acknowledged. The evidence suggests diversity in who was potting, painting, and trading within Athens as well as variety in the possibilities for the display and sale of pottery. Archaeology and literary sources suggest variation in the size and composition of workshops, as well as indicating that stylistic groupings may still prove fruitful paths to follow. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that potters and painters were likely to have considered where they might market their wares most successfully, perhaps shifting from one market to another or changing decoration or shape to fit within a particular type of market. *Emporoi* would have had a choice of places to shop and while in some cases they may have stayed with a familiar craftsman, in others they might well have changed to suit a new destination or to sell new goods. The evidence also suggests that a workshop's

placement might determine both who might work together and how pots might move within Attica itself. That is, markets and craftsmen in Athens should be seen as flexible and interactive rather than static or monolithic. Finally, it is clear that as more material is excavated and as older excavations are examined more carefully, that the possibilities for refining our picture of the Athenian Potters' Quarter continues to expand.

NOTES

1. This paper is a small token of thanks to John M. Camp for being key in permitting me to realize the importance of topography and the need to understand movement through a landscape as well as for serving as my example as I continue to teach on site. His influence on me has been immense and his quiet generosity and advice recognized gratefully.

Aspects of this paper were delivered as an American School of Classical Studies tea talk in 2006, at the AIA Meetings in San Diego in 2007 and at the conference "Pottery's Markets in the Ancient World" in Brussels in 2008. Eurydice Kephalidou, Mark Lawall, Nicolette Trahoulia, Amy Smith, Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell, and the anonymous reviewers for this volume have all commented on parts of the current written version. It has been improved by their critiques and any mistakes that remain are, of course, my own.

2. This study forms part of a larger study of the late archaic vase-painter, the Eucharides Painter and his workshop. Vases attributed to this painter, about 80 percent of which have provenance, will serve as case studies. See also, Elizabeth M. Langridge-Noti, "Consuming Iconographies," in *Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World: 8th-1st centuries B.C.*, ed. Athéna Tsingarida and Didier Viviers (Brussels: CReA-Patrimoine, 2013), 61–72, which complements the study presented here.

3. John Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 153–167; Alan W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1979), 44–53; Alan W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases: Addenda* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 2006), 6–14; and the papers in *Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World: 8th–1st centuries B.C.* ed. Athéna Tsingarida, and Didier Viviers (Brussels: CReA-Patrimoine, 2013). Other types of pottery, such as transport amphorae, are usually considered better indicators of directed trade, as the lack of provenance for much figured pottery is a hindrance to general studies of its trade.

4. For example, see Ann E. Brownlee, "Attic Black-Figure Vases from Orvieto in the University of Pennsylvania Museum," in *Griechische Vasen in kulturellen Kontext*, ed. Bernhard Schmaltz and Magdalene Söldner (Munster: Scriptorum, 2003), 217–219, for material acquired in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from Orvieto by the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

5. Acropolis inv. 775 (Beazley Archive 202208, *ARV*2 228, no. 20); Corinth KP1156 (Beazley Archive 275119, *ARV*^{2} 228, nos. 20ter and 1637); Corfu MR1149 (Petros Kalligas, "Kerkyra," *ArchDelt* 24 (1969): plate 262); Pompeii (Beazley Archive 202209, *ARV*^{2} 228, no. 20bis).

6. For the Eucharides Painter, see Elizabeth Langridge-Noti, "Pondering the Painter: The Panathenaic Amphorae attributed to the Eucharides Painter," in *Panathenaïka: Symposion zu den Panathenaïschen Preisamphoren, Rauischholzhausen 25.11.–29.11.1998*, ed. Martin Bentz and Norbert Eschbach (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), 75-82; and, more completely, Elizabeth M. Langridge-Noti, "The Eucharides Painter and His Place in the Athenian Potters' Quarter" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1993).

7. Athens, Corinth, and Pompeii show scenes of reclining symposiasts. On the Corinth vase, there is one fragment that may contain Herakles' weapons hanging on a tree. Decorative motifs are also similar on the Corinth and Athens vases. Each has a simple meander on the outer rim. Slightly more elaborated meanders appear on the Pompeii vase and possibly on the one from Corfu, if other fragments published by Giorgos S. Dontas, "Kerkyra," *ArchDelt: Chronika* 18 (1963): 161-180, plate 202, belong to the same vase. On the Athens and Pompeii vases, the figured scene appears immediately below the lip, while on the Corfu and Corinth vases, a palmette frieze, including lotus buds on the one from Corfu, divides the lip and the figured scene below it. All of these decorative friezes appear elsewhere in the work of the Eucharides Painter.

8. The Athens fragments come from the Acropolis, the Pompeii ones from a sanctuary of Apollo, and those from Corfu from a sanctuary of Hera.

9. The notebooks indicate that the fragments come from a dump south of the Terracotta Factory (deposit 7, excavated June 20, 1930) that contained large numbers of miniatures and nearby fragmentary Attic pottery; see *Corinth* 15.1:45–49 for the interpretation of the material. The other published Attic piece that appears to belong to this same deposit is a fragmentary bell krater from later in the fifth century (Corinth KP 1155).

10. Stefano de Caro, *Saggio nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei: scavi stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931–32 e 1942–43* (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico, 1986).

11. Inv. 2666 from tomb 539 (Beazley Archive 202236); Inv. 2664, from tomb 245 (Beazley Archive 202238); and Inv. 2639 from tomb 931 (Beazley Archive 202237).

12. Ferrara, Archaeological Museum, krater inv. nos. 2664 and 2639 both have ancient mending holes in the same place on the lower body of the vase near the foot.

13. Lise Hannestad, "The Athenian Potter and the Home Market," in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery: Copenhagen, August 31-September 4, 1987*, ed. Jette Christiansen and Torben Melander (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Thorvaldsens Museum, 1988), 222–223, has already noted that current evidence reveals that potters and painters did not work as a single group and did not originate from uniform backgrounds. See also Cécile Jubier-Galinier, Annie-France Laurens, and Athèna Tsingarida, "Les ateliers de Potiers en Attique de l'idée à l'object," in *Le vase grec et ses destins*, ed. Pierre Rouillard and Annie Verbanck-Pierard (Munich: Biering & Brinkmann, 2003), 27–44, figures 7–8. Although an Athenian world view may have predominated among Athenian craftsmen, influences both from the inside (metics/slaves) and from the outside (buyers/traders) make clear that that pots were not created solely with Athenian topography or mythology in mind. The multi-ethnic

make-up of the Potters' Quarter in Athens was put forth by Paul Kretschmer, *Griechischen Vaseninschriften* (Güterslob: C. Bertelsmann, 1894), 44–45; Alan L. Boegehold, "The Nessos Amphora—A Note on the Inscription," *AJA* (1962): 405–406; Alan L. Boegehold, "A New Attic Black Figure Potter," *AJA* (1983): 89–90; and Dyfri Williams, "Pottery, Painter and Purchaser," in *Culture et Cité. L'avènment d'Athenes à l'epoque archaïque* ed. Annie Verbanck-Piéard and Didier Viviers (Brussels: Fondation archéologique de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1995), 151–155. Here I am, however, emphasizing this evidence far more than has normally been the case.

14. Williams, "Pottery, Painter and Purchaser," is basic to this discussion.

15. Beazley's volumes are perhaps the easiest place to see these interconnections. For more than one person working on a single pot, see *ARV*², Chapter 8:48 for the Penthesilea Workshop as well as *ABV*, Chapter 12 for Little Master Cups. For individual painters, see as examples, the monographs of the *Kerameus* series published by von Zabern.

16. See John H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), especially pages 96–113. Exceptions to the small size of workshops would be groups like those associated with Nikosthenes or the Penthesilea Painter in which the working group of painters and potters is usually seen as being substantially larger, maybe as many as thirty people working at a single time, see Ingeborg Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983), 107–119, and Panos Valavanis, "Βάκχιος, Κίττος και παναθηναικοί αμπορείς. Σκέψεις για τη δομή των αττικών κεραμικών," in *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings*, ed. John H. Oakley, William D. E. Coulson, and Olga Palagia (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 86. Even here, however, there are dissenters, such as Vincent Tosto, *The Black-Figure Pottery Signed NIKOSTHENESEPOIESEN* (Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 1999), 195–200.

17. John D. Beazley, "The Master of the Eucharides Stamnos in Copenhagen," *BSA* 18 (1911–1912): 232; John D. Beazley, "The Master of the Stroganoff Nikoxenos Vase," *BSA* 19 (1912-1913): 245–247; Martin Robertson, "A Fragment by the Nikoxenos Painter," *AJA* 66 (1962): 311–312, and Langridge, "The Eucharides Painter," 74–81.

18. Efi Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές σε αθηωαικά κεραμικά εργαστήρια αρχαικών και κλασικών χρόνων," in *The Archaeology of Athens under the Democracy*, ed. William D.E. Coulson et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), 45, and John H. Oakley, "An Athenian Red-Figure Workshop from the Time of the Peloponnesian War," in *Les Ateliers de Potiers dans le Monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique*, ed. Francine Blondé and Jacques Y. Perreault (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1992), 197. These potting dumps, rooted as they are in the physical world, suggest the validity of the stylistic groupings noted above. This is helpful because stylistic groupings are frequently brought together without considering the actual context of findspots. See John K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 277, for a reevaluation of some of these deposits.

19. For this deposit, see Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές," 47–51, and Olga Zachariadou, Dora Kyriakou, and Efi Baziotopoulou, "Σωστική ανασκαφή

στον ανισόπεδο κόμβο Λενορμάν-Κωνσταντινοπόλεως," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 18 (1985): 39-50, especially pages 39–46.

20. Olga Alexandri, "Ἀθῆναι-Ἀττική: Μαραθώνος 2," *ArchDelt: Chronika* 23 (1968): 75; Jean-Jacques Maffre, "Une gigantomachie de la premiere décennie du Ve siecle," *Revue Archeologique* (1972): 221–232; Jean-Jacques Maffre, "Quelques scenes mythologiques sur des fragments de coupes attiques de la fin du style sévere" *Revue Archeologique* (1982): 195–222.

21. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst*, 204, n. 66; Judith Binder, "Athens Survey (The Monuments, Sites, Placenames)" (unpublished manuscript, 1976), 39, notes that a potter's kiln and a red-figure deposit were found northwest of the Archarnian Gate, possibly indicating the atelier of Brygos.

22. Alexandri, "Ἀθῆναι-Ἀττική," 75.

23. Oakley, "Red-Figure Workshop," discusses both in some detail. Note that Boardman, *Greek Vases*, 155, places the Painter of the Athens Dinos in the wrong part of Athens. Neither find appears to contain clear evidence of a workshop such as wasters or traces of the kiln itself. It is possible, therefore, that these deposits came from retail shops rather than workshops.

24. Juliusz Ziomecki, *Les représentations d'artisans sur les vases attiques* (Wroclaw: Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1973), 23–27 and 88–98.

25. David P. S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach* (London and New York: Longman, 1982) is seminal. Harriet Blitzer, "Koroneïka: Storage-Jar Production and Trade in the Traditional Aegean," *Hesperia* 59 (1990): 675–711; Ioannis Ionas, *Traditional Pottery and Potters in Cyprus: The Disappearance of a Craft Industry in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000); and Eleni Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns in Ancient Greece Technology and Organization of Ceramic Workshops" (PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2002), have been particularly useful for this paper. It should be noted here that while ethnographic studies of traditional pottery making in Greece can be helpful in understanding many aspects of the manufacturing of pottery in ancient Athens, these modern potting communities are likely to be even smaller overall than those in the ancient Athenian Potters' Quarter. Furthermore, those who study traditional Greek pottery often have different reasons to examine these workshops than I do. I, therefore, looked outside the Greek world for parallels in other potting communities, as well as at these more modern studies.

26. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 8–9 and 25–34. The literary evidence for workshop structure existing in fourth century court speeches would seem to suggest that the former is more likely—with slaves often acting as 'extra personnel.'

27. Ibid., 39.

28. Ibid., 40.

29. Ibid., 38–39, and Boardman, *Greek Vases*, 141–143. The estimate for Athens is usually six to eight people per workshop.

30. M. Beatrice Annis, "Resistance and Change: Pottery Manufacture in Sardinia," *World Archaeology* 17 (1985-1986): 240–255.

31. Ibid., 241.

32. Ibid., 243. Perhaps the Nikosthenic workshop might be considered in this light.

33. Paul T. Nicholson, and Helen L. Patterson, "Pottery Making in Upper Egypt: An Ethnoarchaeological Study," *World Archaeology* 17 (1985-1986): 222–239.

34. Eleni Hasaki, "Crafting Spaces: Archaeological, Ethnographical, and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives in Spatial Analysis of Pottery Workshops in Greece and Tunisia," in *Pottery in the Archaeological Record: Greece and Beyond. Acts of the International Colloquium held at the Danish and Canadian Institutes in Athens, June 20–22, 2008*, ed. Mark L. Lawall and John Lund (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2011), 12–28, and Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 313.

35. Hasaki, "Crafting Spaces," especially pages 12–16; and Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 269. Blitzer, "Koroneïka," 683–684, notes the extensive amount of space needed for an activity like drying.

36. Hasaki, "Crafting Spaces," 24-28. Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 313, notes that although larger factories are mentioned in fourth-century BCE oratory (Aeschin. 1.97), none of these larger workshops are potteries. Karen D. Vitelli, "Pots vs. Vases," *Antiquity* 66 (1992): 552, wonders whether Corinthian aryballoi are not being made under factory-like conditions in service of a particular industry. For small workshops, see Edward M. Harris, "Workshop, Marketplace and Household: The Nature of Technical Specialization in Classical Athens and its Influence on Economy and Society," *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, ed. Paul Cartledge, Edward E. Cohen, and Lin Foxhall (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 80–81; John K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), 44; Robert J. Hopper, *Trade and Industry in Classical Greece* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 102; Xen., *Mem*. 2.3.3; Lys. 24.6, and Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 38. For larger workshops, see notes 15–16.

37. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 39; note also page 122, where he notes that the establishment of Perennius had a 10,000 gallon levigation tank, implying that this workshop had a substantially large workforce and output.

38. See Francine Blondé, Jacques Y. Perreault, and Catérina Péristéri, "Un atelier archaïque à Phari (Thasos)," in *Les Ateliers de Potiers dans le Monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique*, ed. Francine Blondé and Jacques Y. Perreault (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1992), 39, for Thasos, where a key factor was apparently access to a good port. Compare the Corinthian Potters' Quarter in which the key resources were apparently clay and kindling, since it is not located close by the sea.

39. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 40. Hannestad, "Athenian Potter," 223, notes that the ethnographic evidence reveals the variety and bulk of what is being made in a single shop. See also Williams, "Pottery, Painter and Purchaser," 159, for a discussion of the workshop of Bakhios and Kittos. For workshops in which a variety of materials are being produced, in some cases both fine and coarse material, see Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές," 49. Blondé, Perreault, and Péristéri, "Atelier," 39; Jubier-Galinier, Laurens, and Tsingarida, "Potiers en Attique," 40–41; Maria Chiara Monaco, *Ergasteria: inpianti ceramici ad Atene ed in Attica del protogeometrico alle soglie dell'ellenismo* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2000), 110; Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 126–186; *Agora* 12:13, n. 18. Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 316, believes, however, that a fine and coarse ware divide can be seen in excavated workshop finds.

40. See Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 219 and 279, and Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 286–288 and 316 (although see also 23–34), with citations.

41. Ionas, *Traditional Pottery*, 204. Perhaps panathenaic amphorae production needs to be considered in this light.

42. The biggest impediment in using shape studies to create a more complete picture of a single workshop is the difficulty in connecting the different shapes to one another. Without a similar type of lip or foot, it is, in fact, almost impossible. Langridge, "The Eucharides Painter," 108–112; Hansjörg Bloesch, "Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period," *JHS* 71 (1951): 29–39.

43. See n. 13. Diod. Sic., 11.43.3, records that Themistokles engineered the removal of taxes on metics and artisans so large numbers of them could come into Athens. Even if he exaggerated, it is an indication of the large population of craftsmen that would have existed in the *polis*. Boardman, *Greek Vases*, 144; John K. Papadopoulos, and Evelyn L. Smithson, "The Cultural Biography of a Cycladic Geometric Amphora: Islanders in Athens and the Prehistory of the Metics," *Hesperia* 71 (2002): 187–193; Williams, "Pottery, Painter and Purchaser," 153–157.

44. *IG* 2^2.37. For slaves, see Thuc. 7.27.3–5. Harris, "Workshop, Marketplace and Household," 70, and Edward M. Harris, *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 145, suggests that as many as 50 percent of Athenians would have been engaged in work other than agriculture. For different nationalities in Athens, see Chester G. Starr, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 87. Celina Gray, "Self-Represenation of the Milesioi on the Sculpted Gravestones of Roman Attica" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 4–8, specifically discusses Milesians in Athens. For other Athenian metics, see Signe Isager and Mogens H. Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1975), 217–219. Papadopoulos and Smithson, "Cultural Biography," 192, n. 210, provide a list demes in which metics appear.

45. Oakley, "Red-Figure Workshop;" Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές;" Monaco, *Ergasteria*; and Jubier-Galinier, Laurens, and Tsingarida, "Potiers en Attique," are basic to this discussion. Karim W. Arafat, and Catherine Morgan, "Pots and Potters in Athens and Corinth: A Review," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8 (1989): 316, citing personal communication with Richard Jones, suggest that there may have been clay beds near the Ilissos, so that getting clay from the known beds at Marousi and Cape Zoster may not have been necessary. Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 346, n. 56, notes that running water was also available outside the southeastern part of the city. For Athenian potters also using wells for water, see Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 274–275.

46. For kiln sites of this period certainly outside the area associated with the Kerameikos, see Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 346, 56; and n. 57, and Monaco, *Ergasteria*, 238–240. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές," 47, implies that many of the workshop finds from the time of the Eucharides Painter fall outside of the Kerameikos proper. See Victoria Sabetai, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Greece. Fascicule* 9, *Athens, Benaki Museum. Fascicule* 1 (Athens: Academy of Athens, 2006), 10–11, nn. 9–10) and Williams, "Pottery, Painter and Purchaser," 143, n. 95, for Kephalos of Kollytos, whose father was a potter. Although close to the urban core of Ath-

ens, Kephalos' deme affiliation suggests that his workshop was located outside the Kerameikos. Note also the evidence for potting in the area of the El. Venizelos airport in Athens that is now display in the airport museum.

47. Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 289–291.

48. For example, small ritual vessels like krateriskoi seem to have been made by a single workshop, but they appear around Attica in different sanctuaries of Artemis.

49. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές," 52. Alain Bresson, "Ecology and Beyond: The Mediterranean Paradigm," in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed., William V. Harris (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 106; Peregrine Horden, and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 128, note that Athenians transported goods over road systems in this period even in areas that had good access to the sea.

50. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 285–286.

51. See Charles M. Reed, *Maritime Traders in the Ancient Greek World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7, for differentiated traffic coming into and out of Athens. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 288, cites personal communication with Mark Lawall, who observed changes in the number of imported amphorae appearing in the city following the Persian Wars, and Papadopoulos wonders if this is connecting to changing routes into the city center.

52. Ionas, *Traditional Pottery*, 204–208, notes the association of workshop and home in nineteenth- and twentieth-century traditional potting communities in Cyprus. See also Boardman, *Greek Vases*, 153–155; Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 9–11, and chapter 5; Robin Osborne, "Pots, Trade and the Archaic Greek Economy," *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 39; Robin Osborne, "Workshops and the Iconography and Distribution of Athenian Red-Figure Pottery: A Case Study," *Greek Art in View: Essays in Honour of Brian Sparkes*, ed. Simon Keay and Stephanie Moser (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), 87; and Williams, "Pottery, Painter and Purchaser," 157. The association of workshop and home may partially emerge from how the Athenian potting industry fits on an ethno-archaeological scale such as proposed by Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 8–11. See the discussion of marketing possibilities below.

53. Most recently Barbara Tsakirgis, "Living and Working around the Athenian Agora: A Preliminary Case Study of Three Houses," in *Ancient Greek Houses and Households: Chronological, Regional, and Social Diversity*, ed., Bradley A. Ault and Lisa C. Nevett (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 67-82; John McK. Camp II, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (New York and London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 145 (Mikion and Menon), and 142 (Simon).

54. Tsakirgis, "Living and Working," 77, notes that there is nothing specialized in the architectural layout of a house that would indicate with certainty that the houses had an industrial function to go along with their domestic one.

55. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές," 48–49, figures 2–3.

56. For pottery workshops whose location has been pinpointed to some degree, see Oakley, "Red-Figure Workshop," and Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές." The workshops that are discussed in both of these articles belong to the late sixth through the fifth centuries BCE.

57. Blitzer, "Koroneïka," 698–701.

58. See, e.g., *IG* 2².1013.9 (late second century BCE), in which *ergasteria* and *kapeloi* are distinguished from one another. *Agora* 3:188, n. 615 suggests that the distinction is pedantic, but I am not certain that this is the case. See Harris, *Democracy*, 145. Harris, "Workshop, Marketplace and Household," 81, notes that *oikos* and *ergasterion* are not often differentiated in the literary sources.

59. Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns," 254–256. Phillip V. Stanley, "Ancient Greek Market Regulations and Controls" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976), 182–183: *kapeloi* buy from *emporoi* and then sell to individuals or to other *kapeloi*. Thus, *kapeloi* might be considered localized traders. For *kapeloi*, Pl., *Resp*. 371c and *Soph*. 223d. For *metaboleis*, *scholia* to Aristophanes, *Plutus* 1155.

60. Stanley, *Ancient Greek Market Regulations*, 182–183.

61. Compare this to the *emporos*. Isager, and Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society*, 64–65; Dem. 34.8–9, and Arist., [*Oec*.] 1347 b 7–9.

62. Kathleen M. Lynch, "Depositional Patterns and Behavior in the Athenian Agora: When Disaster Strikes," in *Pottery in the Archaeological Record: Greece and Beyond, Acts of the International Colloquium held at the Danish and Canadian Institutes in Athens, June 20-22, 2008*, ed. Mark L. Lawall and John Lund (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2011), 70-71; Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 277–278; and Monaco, *Ergasteria*, 34–46. The composition of the Agora deposits has been the subject of debate. Eugene Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft: The Upper Fill," *Hesperia* 15 (1946): 266–268, believed that the Rock-Cut Shaft in the Athenian Agora did have wasters as well as a range of painter groups, but more recently Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*, 278–279, has suggested that the wasters are better explained as misfired pots that were subsequently sold. For retail areas in other poleis, see Elizabeth Pemberton, "Classical and Hellenistic Pottery from Corinth and its Athenian Connections" in *Corinth*, vol. 20, *The Centeniary*, ed. Nancy Bookidis and Charles K. Williams (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 171, and her discussion of Corinthian and Attic pottery showing up at what she calls 'transfer points.'

63. This might be further supported by the marks on kiln separators found in deposits in Athens. While some of these groups contain only single sets of marks (see Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές," 50, for a closely related set), others contain a number of clearly different marks (see Monaco, *Ergasteria*, 89–93 and 216–233), which suggests that more than one pottery workshop might have used the same kiln for firing. See Jubier-Galinier, Laurens, and Tsingarida, "Potiers en Attique," 40.

64. For temporary stalls, see Harris, "Workshop, Marketplace and Household," 75, and *Agora* 3:185–206. Thanks to Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell for reminding me that this could be something that the workshop itself could have set up.

65. Dem. 57.31, for selling restrictions on foreigners in the Agora. *Agora* 3:200, n. 665, suggests, however that these restrictions and fines were only placed on foreigners without the right permits. Aristophanes, *Ach*. 720–904, could be read either as permitting foreigners the right to sell or as part of Dikaiopolis' aberration in setting up a market.

66. Bresson, "Ecology and Beyond," 106, against Robin Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures. The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside* (Dobbs Ferry, New

York: Sheridan House, 1987), 108. Inscriptions that record the existence of *agorai*: Sounion: *IG* 2².1180, Eleusis: *IG* 2².1188, Halai Aixonides: *IG* 2².1174. See also Sabetai, Benaki *CVA*, 10–11, nn. 9–10. For further possibilities of where and how one might sell goods, Luuk de Ligt, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-industrial Society* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1993), 35–41 and 64–66.

67. Aristophanes, *Ach*. 720–904.

68. Dem. 23 and Stanley, *Ancient Greek Market Regulations*, 144-45, for the existence of border agoras that help to regulate the flow of imported goods into Athens. Stanley is not convinced, however, that deme agoras and border agoras are the same.

69. Pemberton, "Classical and Hellenistic Pottery from Corinth," 171, for examples using Corinthian pottery. The known workshops fall outside Corinth's city center and, indeed, the main excavated area associated with potting falls on the far western edge of the city and away from the main routes down to the port. It seems unlikely that merchants and traders would have traipsed out there to buy these wares. The positing of some type of retail point is much more likely.

70. Robert S. J. Garland, *The Piraeus: From the Fifth to the First Century B.C.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 84, and Stanley, *Ancient Greek Market Regulations*; Xen., *Vect*. 1.7.

71. Polyaenus, *Strat*. 6.2.2; Suda, s.v. δεῖγμα; schol. on Aristophanes, *Eq*. 979; Poll. 9.34; Dem. 35.29 and 50.24; Xen., *Vect*. 3.2; Isoc. 4.42.

72. Garland, *The Piraeus*, 86. Hopper, *Trade and Industry*, 52, believes the *Deigma* could have been used both by importers and exporters.

73. Garland, *The Piraeus*, 141–142. Arist., *Pol.* 1267 b23; Dem. 49.22; Xen., *Hell* 2.4.11; Andoc. 1.45; Photius, s.v. Ἱπποδάμεια.

74. Garland, *The Piraeus*, 84–85, assumes that the *Deigma* was used for sea-borne trade and the Hippodamian Agora for land. *Ath. Pol.* 51.4 and Paus. 1.1.3.

75. Alan W. Johnston, review of *Griechische Toepferkunst*, by Ingeborg Scheibler, *AJA* 89 (1985): 182, notes that we do not know when these loans actually began so they cannot be taken as a clear indication of exactly *how* trade is handled in Athens. In combination with the other pieces of evidence cited, however, they permit some suggestions. Reed, *Maritime Traders*, 73, believes that the loans probably began in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE.

76. For this international composition, see Dem. 32.4–6; Dem. 33.4–5; Dem. 34.6–9; Dem. 35.10–13; and Dem. 56.

77. Johnston, *Trademarks: Addenda*, 28, and Mauro Christofani, "Un etrusco a Egina," *Studi etruschi* 59 (1993): 159-163, for the Etruscan dedication on Aigina. Alan W. Johnston and Maristella Pandolfini, *Gravisca: savi nel santuario Greco: le iscrizioni*, vol. 15, *Le iscrizioni*. (Bari: Edipuglia, 2000), 24, no. 4, and 25, no. 82, for the dedications at Gravisca. See also Denise Demetriou, *Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean: The Archaic and Classical Greek Multiethnic Emporia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 64-65, figure 4.

78. Demetriou, *Negotiating Identity*, 62-65, points out the role these types of sanctuaries played in the exchange and formation of ideas and identity.

79. Plut., *Vit. Sol*. 22.3 and 24.2, but Dem. 57.31–34 suggests that Solon restricted alien trading within the city.

80. Ronald S. Stroud, *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B.C.* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1998), 24–25; Isager and Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society*, 72; and Harris, *Democracy*, 195. All note that Athenians, and large numbers of them, were involved in trade. Indeed in Dem. 33.4, the defendant is Athenian.

81. By diverse, I mean that a variety of goods were carried. I do not suggest that goods were equally weighted in bulk or in value.

82. Harris, *Democracy*, 155–156, and Dem. 56.9–10.

83. Dem. 34.10, Dem. 35.20, and 35.32–34 all imply that ships could carry the products of more than one trader.

84. See Dem. 56.

85. Langridge-Noti, "Consuming Iconographies," 64, and footnotes. Limited support for the idea of targeted marketing can be found in Johnston, *Trademarks: Addenda*, 29–30, and Osborne, "Pots, 39. See also H. Alan Shapiro, "Modest Athletes and Liberated Women: Etruscans on Attic Black-Figure Vases," in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. Beth Cohen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 321–330, for how the iconography of the Perizoma group matches its market.

86. Diana Buitron-Oliver, *Douris, A Master Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 319; Karim W. Arafat and Catherine Morgan, "Athens, Etruria, and the Heuneburg: Mutual Misconceptions in the Study of Greek-Barbarian Relations," in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, ed. Ian Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 114; and Osborne, "Pots," 38. On the Bronze Age precedents, see James C. Wright, "Mycenean Table Services and Standards of Etiquette," in *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece*, ed. Paul Halstead and John C. Barrett (Sheffield: Academic Press, 2004), 90–104.

87. The Pointe Lequin wreck with its approximately 800 Attic cups is a good example, see Jubier-Galinier, Laurens, and Tsingarida, "Potiers en Attique."

88. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie inv D. 08.2.32 (from Rhodes; Beazley Archive 4174); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G247 (V 563) (from Rhodes; *ABV* 396, no. 21; Beazley Archive 302990); Samothrace Museum 57.565: (*ABV* 396, no. 23bis; *Para* 174; Beazley Archive 202274); St Petersburg (*ABV* 396, no. 24; *Para* 173; Beazley Archive 302993); Samothrace, Museum 51.874, (Beazley Archive 20024).

89. Starr, *Economic and Social Growth*, 85, suggests that the manufacturer was dependent on the merchant for ideas. *Emporoi*, in fact, appear to have wanted to come and go from Athens frequently. Among other incentives to trade in Athens were the maritime courts where rapid settlement of suits was facilitated. Indeed, a foreigner was required to register as a metic after only a short period in Athens. David Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1977), 9–11, suggests after as little as a month). This would have meant limited contact between foreign merchants and manufacturers.

90. Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 270–299; Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (New York: MacMil-

lan, 1959), 39 and 112; and Jamie Morton, *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 255–256.

91. Kleopatra Kathariou, Το εργαστήριο του Ζώγραφου του Μελεάγρου και η εποχή του: παρατηρήσεις στην σττική κεραμική του πρώτου τετάρτου του 4ου αι.π. (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002), 83–85, for the Meleager Painter. Other examples, these by the Orchard Painter, are Bologna 241 (*ARV*² 524, no. 25; Beazley Archive 205907), and Ferrara T254cvp (*ARV*² 524, no. 26; Beazley Archive 205908).

92. Sally R. Roberts, "Evidence for a Pattern in Attic Pottery Production, ca. 430–350 B.C.," *AJA* 77 (1973): 435–437, and Victoria Sabetai, "Red-Figured Vases at the Benaki Museum: Reassembling *fragmenta disjecta*," *Mouseio Benaki* 4 (2005): 25, for the idea of pots made and bought in sets—i.e., both functional and stylistic sets. For groups formed slowly through at least one generation, see the group of decorated vessels found in the Brygos Tomb, Dyfri Williams, "The Brygos Tomb Reassembled and 19th Century Commerce in Capuan Antiquities," *AJA* 96 (1992): 617–-636. Susan I. Rotroff and John H. Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992), 44, for the set given by Phanokikos of Prokonnesos to the prytaneion of Sigeion: a krater, a stand, and a strainer. They note that although these were probably metal vases, it does indicate that the notion of a *functional* set (not a coherent stylistic one) does exist.

93. Jocelyn Penny Small, "Scholars, Etruscans, and Attic painted vases," *JRS* 7 (1994): 41, and Alexandra Nilsson, "The Function and Reception of Attic Figured Pottery: Spina, A Case Study," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 26 (1999), 13–15. Only a tiny portion of the over 4000 Spina graves are fully published—indeed, only those with the 'prettiest' Attic pottery—so further examination of the graves may produce more local wares. Small, "Scholars," 50, has suggested that, for Etruria at least, it was the Attic vase—the foreign fabric—that was important and made the vase 'prestigious.'

94. For example, Piero Gianfrotta, "L'àncora di Kutifluna (ovvero, considerazioni sulla tomba no. 245 di Valle Trebba)," *Musei Ferraresi Bollettino Annuale* 12 (1982): 59–62, and Nilsson, "Function and Reception," 15, n. 49.

95. I will not here enter into the debate on the absolute monetary value of Greek vases. Indeed, the value that I suggest here and below can stem from perceived luxury, personal heirloom, or social status. In all cases though, it is value beyond the immediate use of the vase itself as a storage or serving container.

96. Even if the column-kraters had a use-life prior to being put into the graves at Spina, it is unclear whether the drinking vessels were part of the original service. If there was an original service, it would then imply that by the time the pot arrived in the grave, the 'set' was disposable and had been dispersed. Small, "Scholars," 45–46, and Nigel Spivey, "Greek Vases in Etruria," in *Looking at Greek Vases*, ed. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey (Cambridge and New York; Cambridge University Press, 1991), 131–50.

97. The possibility of use before burial is probable for one of the Eucharides Painter's kraters at Spina (inv. no. 2664) which predates other objects in the grave by over a decade: Gianfrotta, "L'àncora di Kutifluna," 59–62.

98. Vladimir Stissi, "Modern Finds and Ancient Distribution," in *Céramique et peinture greques: modes d'emploi*, ed. Marie-Christine Villanueva Puig et al. (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1999), 354.

99. For a small amount, see the Giglio Campese A wreck (A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and Roman Provinces* [Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1992], 192, no. 451); for a larger amount, see the Pointe Lequin wreck (Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 323, no. 846). The Giglio Campese A wreck contained different types of amphorae, copper ingots and nuggets, lead ingots, Etruscan bucchero, amber, Early Corinthian pottery, and anchor stock of Giglio granite. The Pointe Lequin wreck contained a number of different types of amphorae as well as Attic pottery. A wreck near Gela contained six to seven tons of stone, probably partially ballast, at least four different types of amphorae, black-figured kylikes, red-figured askoi and oinochoe, and black slip cups and plates, among other things. The El Sec wreck (Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 392–393, no. 1058) is later (fourth century) but is interesting in that the three groups of Attic figured pottery found (kraters, skyphoi, and cups) are attributable to workshop groups whose work is also found together on land excavations elsewhere, suggesting that the material was marketed together in Athens.

100. By mixed cargo, I am not implying equal weight or bulk being given to every product on any given boat; rather that the listed finds suggests that cargoes were generally diverse even if the bulk of merchandise was a single type of item. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 16–17, notes that amphorae are main items found in shipwrecks, although he gathers all amphorae into a single cargo category, and there is often other pottery in his groupings. Lionel Casson. *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit; Wayne State University Press, 1984), 27, for the goods of more than one person on a single ship. Batch marks, indicating relatively small bundles of pots, also make clear that multiple batches were carried on a single ship. Johnston, *Trademarks*, 7 and 12; David W. J. Gill, "Silver Anchors and Cargoes of Oil: Some Observations on Phoenician Trade in the Western Mediterranean," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 3.

101. Casson. *Ancient Trade*, 25. The Grand Congloué (second century BCE) and Albenga (first century BCE) wrecks contained cargoes of 3,000–10,000 amphorae of 108–450 tons. Thuc. 7.25.6 for a *myriophoros* (amphorae or medimnoi).

102. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 171, n. 33, for the Thasian decree (third century BCE), *IG* 12, Suppl. 51 no. 348 (as emended in *SEG* 17:417) and pages 183–184, for Athenian decrees honoring donations of grain that suggest average grain ships could carry between 120–160 tons.

103. Johnston, *Trademarks*, and Johnston, *Trademarks: Addenda*, form the foundations of this section. None of the vases from case studies focused on in this article preserve graffiti or dipinti.

104. For multiple trademarks, see Johnston, *Trademarks*, 128–130, no. 8E, and Johnston, *Trademarks: Addenda*, 28, for marks in at least two different languages. For multiple marks on vases attributable to the Eucharides Painter, see Leiden PC 7 (Beazley Archive 303077), Toronto 919.5.148 (Beazley Archive 302965) and Würzburg 533 (Beazley Archive 202254).

105. Osborne, "Pots, 39–40, and Johnston, *Trademarks*, 51. Also Arafat and Morgan, "Athens, Etruria, and the Heuneburg," 109, who note differences between

the marking of pots in Athens and Corinth; and Johnston and Pandolfini, *Gravisca*, 47, who note that marks at Gravisca, Naukratis, and Himera are comparable, with the addition of more Etruscan marks at Gravisca itself.

106. Johnston, *Trademarks*, 353.

107. Thomas J. Figueira, "Karl Polanyi and Ancient Greek Trade," *Ancient World* 10 (1984): 25.

108. Johnston, *Trademarks Addenda*, 29–30. See n. 39 for variety of production at kiln sites and within workshops.

109. Arafat and Morgan, "Athens, Etruria, and the Heuneburg," 108–109; Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 15–18.

110. Arafat and Morgan, "Athens, Etruria, and the Heuneburg," 108; Eva Rystedt, "Athens in Etruria: A Note on Panathenaic Amphorae and Attic Ceramic Imagery in Etruria," in *Across Frontiers: Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots: Studies in Honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway*, ed. Edward Herring et al. (London: Accordia Research Institute, University of London, 2006), 505.

111. Irad Malkin, "A Colonial Middle Ground: Greek, Etruscan, and Local Elites in the Bay of Naples," in *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, ed. Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 151–152, developed the idea of the 'middle ground' for the area of Campania, based on work initially published in Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), to explain interaction between Native Americans and European settlers. Arafat and Morgan, "Athens, Etruria, and the Heuneburg," 108.

112. For kyathoi to Vulci and amphorae of Etruscan inspiration to Caere, Orvieto and Vulci, see Tom Rasmussen, "Etruscan Shapes in Attic Pottery," *Antike Kuns*t 28 (1985): 33–39; and Robin Osborne, "The Anatomy of a Mobile Culture: The Greeks, their Pots and their Myths in Etruria," in *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Renate Schlesier and Ulrike Zellmann, (Munster: LIT, 2004), 24–25.

113. For the kraters, see above n. 11. For the pelikai, see above n. 88.

114. Such as the work done for Gela, Rosalba Panvini, and Filippo Giudice, Τα Αττικά*: veder greco a Gela: ceramiche attiche figurate dall'antica colonia: Gela, Siracusa, Rodi 2003* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschnedier, 2004).

115. Osborne, "Anatomy," 33, suggests that pots with figured scenes were bought and displayed in such a way that they were meant to provoke discussion.

116. As, for example, examples from Gela (Panvini and Giudice, Τα Αττικά, 303, no. G12; 306, no. G23; 312 , no. G43; and 333, no. I31, as well as the Orchard Painter examples above in n. 91.

8

The Transport Amphoras at Koroni: Contribution to the Historical Narrative and Economic History of the Early Hellenistic Aegean

Mark L. Lawall

Intersections between history, archaeology and topography are exemplified in the excavation at Koroni on the eastern coast of southern Attica.[1] James McCredie, Arthur Steinberg and Martin Jones had surveyed the site in 1959, and Eugene Vanderpool directed the single, three-week season of excavation in July 1960. The project excavated five structures and two isolated test trenches on the acropolis, two buildings in the saddle area south of the acropolis, and four trenches in the lower lying valley facing the sea. A small amount of material was also published from the fortified southern ridge. Thirty-two coins were recovered of which twenty-four were Ptolemaic and mostly attributable to Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[2] The latest of these coins indicated a date after 267/6 or 265/4 for the site's occupation. The dominance of Ptolemaic coins here in contrast to contemporary Athens led to the suggestion of Ptolemaic inhabitants. Likewise, the amphora stamps found at the site were more often paralleled in Egypt than in Athens. The excavators therefore proposed that the site was used by the Ptolemaic forces during the Chremonidean War, then dated to 265-261 BCE,[3] which pitted an alliance including Athens, Sparta, Ptolemy II, and others against Antigonos Gonatas. Despite attempts at relief by the Spartan king Areus and despite the distraction of a revolt by Gallic troops at Megara, Antigonos was able to maintain a lengthy siege of Athens, thus winning the war.[4] The archaeological evidence from Koroni provided a significant supplement to the scanty available narrative of the war, and the site eventually became a fixed point in the archaeological chronology of the period.

Initially, however, experts believed the pottery at the site should have been dated thirty to forty years earlier than the Chremonidean War. Responses published in 1963 by Virginia Grace on the stamped amphora handles and G. Roger Edwards on the fine wares both rejected the excavators' identification of the site, and these prompted a response from Vanderpool and his colleagues the following year.[5] A decade later, Grace published her acceptance of the 260s date of Koroni and moved the Rhodian chronology down ca. thirty years.[6] By this shift, the Rhodian amphoras at Koroni were still 'old,' dating no later than ca. 270, but this seemed appropriate for their use as water storage jars for the troops as had been proposed by the excavators.[7] Many experts in Hellenistic pottery in general then moved their dates downward by thirty or more years.[8]

While the association of the site with the Chremonidean War is widely accepted, there remains some uncertainty as to the date and purpose of its original settlement. Heide Lauter-Bufe and Hans Lauter, in the late 1980s, noted the substantial nature of the buildings at Koroni (for example, the use of terracotta roof tiles) and the haphazard layout of the settlement to argue for a date of foundation before the outbreak of the war as an Attic port to be used in lieu of Piraeus early in the 280s BCE.[9] Susan Rotroff's response (in *Agora* 29) did not dispute the architectural side of this argument but did highlight the rarity of earlier pottery and the absence of early coins. Rotroff also pointed out that for the purposes of ceramic chronologies, the destruction date often plays a larger role than the foundation.[10] And yet, if the site is to be used, as historians and perhaps many archaeologists would prefer, to clarify not only pottery dates but also the narrative of the Chremonidean War, then this alternative interpretation of the site's establishment needs to be revisited.

The decades since the survey and excavation at Koroni have seen scattered developments on a number of fronts: historical, numismatic, and amphorological. My goal here is, first, to update the state of understanding as far as the amphoras. This process begins with a review of the amphora material documented from Koroni and other sites and regions associated with the Chremonidean War. This review highlights the similarities among many amphora assemblages associated with the War, the differences with the situation in contemporary Athens, and points of similarity and difference with contemporary amphora finds in Egypt. Updating the evidence for the chronologies of the amphora stamps present at Koroni and related sites then indicates a very narrow range of dates of the stamped amphoras, no earlier than ca. 270 and no later than ca. 265 BCE. These updates to the evidence provided by the amphoras then lead towards the second broad goal of this paper: to begin integrating that evidence from the amphoras into the historical narrative and long-term economic impact of the war. As far as the narrative of the war, the evidence

from the amphoras makes it seem more likely that the site was not settled in the 280s, that the Ptolemaic forces and their suppliers only used the camp at Koroni in the earliest years of the war, and that Ptolemaic forces were present at Eretria during its brief period of freedom from Macedon around 268 BCE. Integration of the amphorological and numismatic evidence draws attention to changes in the commercial landscape of the Aegean in the first half of the third century to some extent resulting from the military maneuverings surrounding the Chremonidean War.

AMPHORA ASSEMBLAGES AT SITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CHREMONIDEAN WAR

Even in the initial publication of Koroni the comparison between amphora finds at that site and elsewhere in Attica played a role in the interpretation of the material. In bringing these interpretations up to date, therefore, it is useful to review the overall picture of finds at Koroni as well as finds from other sites related to the Chremonidean War.

Koroni

Four legible eponyms are found among the Thasian stamps at Koroni: Δημάλκης (four examples), Κλεόστρατος (three examples), Εὐαγόρας and Ἰδνάδης (one example each).[11] Three other Thasian stamps in the publication are not restorable.

Three eponyms are represented among the Rhodian stamps at Koroni. Χρυ(σόστρατος) appears four times; Ἄγριος and Ἀντιλέων appear once each.[12] Alongside these eponym stamps is the fabricant stamp with the unusual syntax: παρὰ Παυσανία. While this Παυσανίας may have arrived with an additional eponym, it is also likely that he was active during the years already attested.[13] Two other stamps attributed to Rhodian fabricants name Θευ[and Ονα(.[14]

The third major group, the lesser-known ZH group A,[15] is named with reference to the stamps' tendency to carry the fabricant abbreviation ZH in small letters along with another abbreviation for the eponym. In the 1980s French and Turkish investigations in southwestern Turkey discovered a kilnsite for another fabricant, Σωφάνης, whose stamps follow the same syntax as those of ZH.[16] At Koroni, all stamps in this class came from the fabricant ZH. The three published eponyms are abbreviated as ΜΟΣ (in five examples), ΣΩ (two examples) and Φ (once).[17]

Other stamps at Koroni include a wide range of known and unknown producers. The known producers include the Koan stamp of a fabricant Ζώπυρος and a Parian jar with a stamp of Μᾶνος.[18] One stamp naming

Ἀριστόδικος appears in three different fragments. Although the same stamp is known at other sites, its place or even region of production remains unknown.[19] A stamp showing a stylized rosette and possibly a small letter to one side resembles stamps whose fabric recalls amphoras from Knidos.[20] Six other stamps remain entirely unidentified: A monogram, Αρτυ, Ερα, ΑΨΝ (?) as a monogram, Θ, and a poorly legible round stamp.[21] Two vertical loop handles with stamps, one showing a raised horseshoe shape, the other a vaguely basket-like shape, may be from either western Mediterranean Punic amphoras or from eastern Phoenician or Palestinian jars.[22]

While most attention was paid to the stamped amphora material found at Koroni, the initial publication did an admirable job of illustrating some portion, too, of the amphora material lacking stamps. Alongside the stamped types, there is also a Greco-Italic jar top, and one jar top that may be from the eastern coast of the Greek mainland north of Attica.[23] Sherds from 'the Koroni peninsula' published by Eirene Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou in 1961 included many of these same types: Greco-Italic toes and one possibly Greco-Italic rim,[24] a Koan handle,[25] another toe likely of the Parian Μάνου type,[26] and a Rhodian toe.[27] In addition, her publication adds Chian toes and one possibly Chian handle,[28] two toes that could be from central Ionia perhaps as far south as Kos,[29] and a toe perhaps from Lesbos.[30]

Eretria

Eretria was attacked by Antigonos either as one of the earliest events of the war or perhaps even as a prelude to the war.[31] Three contexts at the site have been interpreted as being directly associated with Antigonos' attack: a well near the so-called Mosaic House, destruction layers over the Mosaic House itself, and the lower fill of a well in House IV-East, room B.[32] Two Thasian stamps of Εὐαγόρας were found in the well near the Mosaic House.[33] In the destruction level of the house, there is a stamp of the Thasian eponym Κάδμος.[34] Another Thasian stamp from the Mosaic house excavations, unfortunately at the surface, carries the name Θεόπομπος, part of the stylistic group with the Koroni Thasian names Δημάλκης and Ἰδνάδης.[35] The Rhodian eponym Ἀντιλέων also appeared at the Mosaic house.[36] Two ZH group stamps with the eponym AN were found in undated strata not far away.[37]

Other stamps found at Eretria and matched at Koroni involve finds from uncertain phases near the west Gate. The Thasian Ἰδνάδης appears here as does the unattributed name Ἀριστόδικος (of the same type as at Koroni).[38] The Thasian Ἀπολλόδωρος, also found near the West Gate, belongs to a stylistic group with the Koroni name Κλεόστρατος.[39]

Amphoras without stamps from contexts related to the Antigonid attack make it possible to characterize further the amphora assemblage in early Hellenistic Eretria. The most common amphora type in the published groups belongs to a general class attributable to the region of Euboia, Boiotia, and southern Thessaly.[40] The form has a narrow rounded or flattened rim on a tall neck, broad shoulders over a wide conical body, and a knob-like toe. The attribution depends on the frequency of finds of the type in the region and in neighboring areas as contrasted with elsewhere and on rare stamped examples.[41] Alongside these local or broadly regional types, there are also imports from Chios and central Ionia as well as some Greco-Italic jars.[42]

Koresia (Kea)

Moving south to Kea[43], the possible site of Patroklos' camp at Koresia/Arsinoeia produced another example of the Rhodian fabricant stamp reading παρὰ Παυσανία to match the published example from Koroni.[44] A Greco-Italic stamp and some rims possibly of the same type were found at Koresia. Greco-Italic amphoras of the form very close to those at Koroni are also found at Agia Irini, on the same bay as Koresia. From the same site Caskey published both a coin of Ptolemy II and Hellenistic finewares similar to those at Koroni.[45]

Rural Attica: Sites Associated with Patroklos

A number of other sites apart from Koroni in rural Attica have been associated with Ptolemaic troop movements, including Helioupolis,[46] Mikrokavourni/Vouliagmeni,[47] Rhamnous,[48] and the small island of Gaidouronisi off the coast near Sounion.[49] Greco-Italic toes from Helioupolis and Mikrokavourni are of the same general type attested at Koroni.[50] Samian or central Ionian conical toes also appear at both Helioupolis and Koroni.[51] Gaidouronisi (Patroklos island) is less helpful: one Sinopean stamp likely dates late in the fourth century, but the one amphora toe published by McCredie is a Central Greek type that commonly appears from the late fourth and well into the third century both at Athens and in a ca. 260 BCE destruction level at New Halos in Thessaly;[52] other fragments from the site are datable only to the broader fourth century and likely earlier.[53]

Rural Attica: Sites Not Associated with Patroklos

Other sites in rural Attica not directly associated with troop movements during the Chremonidean War show a rather different set of amphora remains. To some extent the differences can be attributed to the seemingly

'old' pottery in use at some rural sites. For example, the published amphoras from the farmhouse at Vari, a site thought to have been abandoned during the Chremonidean War, tend to date still within the fourth century BCE.[54] Published pottery from the site of Thimari, also thought to have been abandoned during the Chremonidean War, did include one rim likely from the area of central Ionia in the early third century and one rim of uncertain identification but possibly attributable to either the area of Erythrai or to the region of Knidos.[55] Other sites surveyed in southern Attica have produced little or no published amphora material from the period of the Chremonidean War.[56]

Athens

The amphora assemblages at Koroni and the other relate sites also differ significantly from material found in contemporary Athens. A sampling of thirteen closed contexts from the first half of the third century shows the nearly complete absence of Rhodian stamps and the relative scarcity even of Thasian stamps.[57] Only one deposit of the sampled group, Q 10:1, included eighteen Thasian stamps; three other deposits—E 29:1, O20:3, and D 16:1—contribute another three each. Within closed deposits at the Athenian Agora excavations, amphoras from Rhodes and the adjacent mainland (including the area producing the Zenon group jars) are extremely rare—nonexistent in most cases—until the deposits closed around 230 BCE or later. In the same group of thirteen early third-century deposits, Chian, southeastern Aegean mushroom rim amphoras from the region more likely north of Rhodes and Knidos, and jars from Thessaly or elsewhere in the central western part of the Greek mainland are the most commonly occurring types.

The non-Aegean, Greco-Italic and Punic (?) jars found at Koroni stand in marked contrast with the Athenian record.[58] With a very few earlier exceptions, Greco-Italic amphoras begin to appear in quantity in Athens only late in the third century, just when Rhodian stamps appear in multiple examples. The two so-called "oriental" stamped handles at Koroni are also poorly paralleled in Athens. While western Punic jars do appear very rarely in deposits closed early in the third century in Athens, the brief descriptions of the Koroni examples do not evoke exactly these same types. Phoenician and Palestinian amphoras also have handles that 'curve down quickly,' and these should be considered possibilities. Such Levantine types are not yet known from Athens.[59]

Early Ptolemaic Egypt

Vanderpool and colleagues cited parallels between the Koroni stamps and those in the Benaki collection in Alexandria as evidence for a Ptol-

emaic identity for the site. Such evidence should be treated with caution.[60] With ca. 90,000 stamps in the Benaki collection (six times the size of the stamp collection at the Athenian Agora) some similarities with the finds at Koroni are to be expected, and one can anticipate at least one example of any stamp in a class imported to Egypt with any regularity in the Ptolemaic period. The relative proportions of early Rhodian to Thasian to ZH-group A among stamps of the 260s cannot be compared with the apparent proportions at Koroni. As others have noted, the lack of archaeological context for the stamps in this collection and the still incomplete reporting of its contents make the Benaki collection difficult to use for any sort of quantitative comparison with other assemblages. Indeed, apart from noting (as Vanderpool and colleagues already did) that all three major amphora classes, Rhodian, Thasian, and ZH-group A, are present in the Benaki collection, it is difficult to draw further conclusions.

Amphora studies in Egypt have greatly expanded since the early 1960s, and even more in recent decades. As a result, the Koroni assemblage can be compared with excavated and documented finds both within Alexandria and at other sites. The nature of the reporting is still problematic, but it appears that early-mid third century Rhodian amphoras tend to outnumber those of the other two major classes at Koroni. Cankardes-Şenol reports up to nearly forty Rhodian Period I (for which she uses the span "late fourth century through ca. 240 B.C.") stamps at some of the eight rescue excavations around Alexandria conducted by the French mission (unfortunately she never says specifically how many Period I stamps are found at each site—the numbers can only be estimated from a graph). These same excavations brought to light twenty-eight stamps from the Rhodian peraea, perhaps some of which belong to ZH-group A (though this is not reported), and twenty-one from Thasos (perhaps some from the early third century?). The same sparseness of non-Rhodian stamps from Rhodian Period I may be noted in the publications of stamps from the Polish excavations in the region, too.[61]

A further point of contrast emerges when one considers the broader early Ptolemaic amphora assemblage in Egypt beyond the stamped material. The most significant element of the assemblage, recognized only recently, is a burgeoning, early Ptolemaic, Egyptian amphora production, many of whose forms loosely imitate amphoras of the region of Rhodes and Knidos (but not Thasos).[62] While there are scattered references to early Hellenistic imports without stamps, too, these seem relatively rare. Even so, there are quite a few published profiles that may be attributable to western Mediterranean Greco-Italic amphoras.[63] This importance of local production provides a further contrast with the Koroni assemblage; however, the fact that this production loosely imitates exactly the region

most strongly represented at Koroni (but not in Athens) does provide one significant point of similarity.

'Chremonidean' Amphora Assemblages

Early third-century amphora assemblages at sites associated with the Ptolemaic forces are distinguished by the presence of Rhodian, ZH-group A, and seemingly fewer (but present) Greco-Italic amphoras. Contemporary assemblages in Attica and Athens lack these and instead may have imports from further north in Ionia as well as a considerably greater presence of central Greek amphoras. Thasian and, to a seemingly lesser extent, Chian amphoras are generally widespread and show up in both Ptolemaic and non-Ptolemaic assemblages. Eretria, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, looks very 'Ptolemaic' on account of the early Rhodian stamps that are so rare in Athens, ZH-group A stamps, as well as some Greco-Italic imports; at the same time most of the published non-stamped material is roughly local or more broadly central Greek.

AMPHORA STAMP CHRONOLOGIES

Amphora stamps are widely, often justifiably,[64] viewed as closely datable artifacts. The amphora stamps published from Koroni offer the possibility of refining the dates of the camp's occupation. Since the finds from Koroni have loomed so large in chronological debates concerning amphora stamps, any discussion of amphoras as evidence for the chronology of the occupation of Koroni risks circular reasoning. The problem is avoided, however, by various constraints, independent of Koroni, shaping the Thasian and Rhodian chronologies. Furthermore, discussions of Koroni's amphoras have not assumed that the stamps date to some particular time during the war—just any time before ca. 262. Finally, there is new evidence from Koroni and related contexts that has not been taken into account in previous discussions of the amphora stamp chronologies.

Much of the chronological discussion that follows depends to some extent on the following assumptions: 1) an amphora stamp found in Chremonidean War levels at Eretria likely dates before Antigonos' attack on that city by ca. 265 at the latest; and 2) amphora stamps found in the urban core of Athens are less likely to date to the period of Antigonos' siege. Neither assumption can be followed without qualifications. In Athens the siege was briefly lifted during the war (perhaps in 266),[65] and the siege was presumably not water-tight since the city did hold out for many years.[66] Furthermore, amphoras produced during the siege could have been imported later.[67] As for Eretria, the city was not abandoned after the

attack, so anything not found exactly in a destruction context attributed to the sack could have been brought in later.

Thasian Stamps

Koroni itself has provided the main fixed point in Thasian stamp chronology. Early Thasian stamps name both an eponym and a fabricant, and the relative order of Thasian names depends on associations between these two names as well as the presence or absence of eponyms from very large collections gathered at the many Thasian workshop sites.[68] For later Thasian stamps, which name only an eponym, collections from workshop sites provide the primary evidence for the relative sequence. For both earlier and later stamps, careful examination has revealed recuttings of earlier dies for later, but presumably not too much later, stamps; and these 'die-links' help define smaller groups of eponyms. Shared aspects of the grammar, letter-forms, and stylistic features of the stamps also define groups of eponyms. Larger groups of Thasian stamps in closed contexts, often in association with either other datable amphora stamp classes or coins, both add further evidence for the relative sequence of the Thasian stamps and begin to provide indications of the absolute chronology for the sequence.[69] And yet, given the uncertainties over chronologies for the Sinopean, Chersonesan, and Herakleian amphoras often found with the Thasian examples and even many of the coins by which many of these deposits are dated,[70] it is preferable to seek sites or contexts dated by historical sources. Apart from Koroni, however, such independently dated contexts are extremely rare and not so helpful. The foundation of Demetrias in Thessaly between 294 and 288 and Alexandria in 331 BCE may provide *termini post quos*.[71] And yet, in both cases, the collections of Thasian stamps from the sites are relatively small, there was potentially activity at these sites before their official foundation, and the earliest amphoras imported to the site may have been in some stage of re-use or even long primary use at the time of importation.[72]

Despite these difficulties, and despite the existing reliance on the Koroni finds in the Thasian chronology, only one, relatively minor adjustment seems necessary on the basis of the material from Eretria (not taken into account in the existing chronology) and previously unreported finds from Koroni. Ἰδνάδης and Δημάλκης along with Φείδιππος and Θεόπομπος (the latter at Eretria but not in a destruction context, and not at Koroni) tend to be placed in a single chronological 'packet' of four years since they all share similar letter-forms and style of engraving. Κλεόστρατος, present at Koroni, is linked into a two-year packet with Ἀπολλόδωρος, found at Eretria, for similar reasons. Ἀπολλόδωρος at the Thasian workshop site of Koukos was stratified below stamps of Φείδιππος and Θεόπομπος

so the two-year packet is likely to have preceded the four-year.[73] The following sequence already proposed by Garlan fits the constraints introduced by Eretria perfectly well: Ἀπολλόδωρος 269 only at Eretria, and Κλεόστρατος 268 in three examples at Koroni; then Δημάλκης 267 with four examples at Koroni, Ἰδνάδης 266 with one at Koroni and one at Eretria but not in a destruction context, Θεόπομπος 265 not at Koroni but at Eretria outside destruction contexts, and lastly Φείδιππος 264 neither at Eretria nor Koroni.

Εὐαγόρας, found in two examples at the well near the Eretria Mosaic House and at Koroni, is dated by Garlan as between 281 and 273.[74] The name appears very often at the Thasian workshop site of Molos and at the Kounophia and Vamvouri Ammoudia sites. The same range of workshop findspots is attested for the main set of Koroni eponyms, though those stamps also appear at other workshop sites without Εὐαγόρας. Such gaps in eponyms' appearances at workshop sites do appear through this broad period, so absences cannot provide especially strong evidence one way or another. It should be possible to move Εὐαγόρας towards or even beyond the end of period 281-273. Εὐαγόρας could be placed at 270 displacing to a year earlier the stylistic packet of Αἴσχρων 1, Βίων 1, and Ἡροφῶν 1. This adjustment fixes the surplus of eponyms in Garlan's group IX, immediately preceding the period with Koroni, to which he allotted ten years but filled with nine eponyms.

Κάδμος is much more problematic. At Eretria, the stamp is found in the destruction layer of the Mosaic House. The name does not appear at Koroni, but if the interpretation of the Eretrian evidence is correct, the name should date before Antigonos' attack. Garlan, however, places Κάδμος between 248 and 236 BCE.[75] Κάδμος appears at the same three workshop sites noted above for Εὐαγόρας (and shared by the other names at Koroni), but the name is rare at Molos, where earlier names are very common. Κάδμος is attested with both barred and lunate sigmas. While a few other stamps similarly dated later in the third century also use this mixture of letter forms, the barred sigma is much more common earlier, in the late 280s and then reappears with consistency in the last three decades of the second century.[76] Perhaps more compelling for a later date for Κάδμος is the find spot of one example at Gordion. While nearly all of the Thasian stamps at that site are datable before the Celtic immigration in the 270s BCE, three eponyms—Κάδμος (one example), Ἀριστοκλῆς (once), and Ἐράτων (twice)—tend to be assigned dates within the third quarter of the third century. As such, they fall into a period of otherwise extremely sparse Aegean imports to that site and their find spots do not overlap with any of the earlier stamps. They may have even arrived as old jars with the bulk of the Rhodian imports dating to the last decade of the third and first decade of the second century.[77] Finally, Κάδμος appears at least five times in the Athenian Agora excavations, so would be unlikely

to date during the time of Antigonos' siege. Κάδμος should be excluded from those associated with the Chremonidean War at Eretria and instead treated as later debris.

Rhodian Stamps

When the excavations at Koroni were first published, the Rhodian chronology was already far more developed than other classes of amphora stamps, and further refinements have even improved this situation. The Rhodian chronology was initially pinned by the finds from Carthage (sacked in 146 BCE). As the corpus of known stamps grew, finds from Corinth (sacked in the same year) were brought to bear along with a large deposit at Pergamon with a closing date argued to be ca. 175 BCE. Other large assemblages of Rhodian stamps were also arranged in relative order around these fixed points on the basis of shared eponyms and fabricants: e.g., the Villanova deposit on Rhodes (debris likely from a production or storage site), a cache of amphoras found in the construction of the Hotel du Soleil on Rhodes, and the building fills of the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos in Athens.[78] Eponyms could also be placed in proximity to one another with reference to shared fabricants and stylistic similarities. Recent refinements involve finds from sites in Israel sacked, abandoned, or converted to adherence to Jewish law excluding gentile containers in the later second century BCE.[79] These chronological refinements over the years now place the three eponyms found at Koroni all within the early 260s.

The most problematic of the Rhodian eponyms at Koroni is Ἄγριος. A stamp of Εὔφρων and Ἄγριος was found in the packing of the Compartment Wall, a section of Athens' city wall whose line covered the back wall of the two unfinished stoas overlooking the Pnyx and continued towards the fortification on Museion Hill.[80] No actual join between the wall and the fortress is preserved; however, similarities in the construction techniques of both indicate their approximate contemporaneity. For a time it was thought that this fortification may be the "diateichisma" attested by 306 BCE, and this date fit the presence of Ἄγριος in terms of the 'pre-Koroni' Rhodian chronology. With Grace's revisions published in 1974, however, the date of the eponym Ἄγριος moved into a range including ca. 280, and this shift then allowed David Romano to associate the Compartment Wall with hasty construction to defend against the Gauls in 279.[81] The Compartment Wall, however, may have already been in place by 287 when the Athenians expelled a Macedonian garrison that had fled to the Mouseion fort—if the walls of that the fortress were bonded to the Compartment Wall, then the wall was constructed before 287.[82] And yet, such a date for Ἄγριος and the Compartment Wall now seems impossible on several counts.

Rhodian amphora stamps of the 290s show simple abbreviations, whereas the Koroni amphora handle naming Ἄγριος appears to have borne the full name. The name is associated with the fabricant Εὔφρων (career spanning before ca. 270 through ca. 244 BCE) but is also the earliest name so far known with the fabricant Ἱεροτέλης (career from Ἄγριος through ca. 210 BCE).[83] Christian Habicht, who has attempted to fix dates to the personalities associated with Rhodian eponyms, argues that Ἄγριος is likely the father of Hemeros, who was *hieropoios* ("a position for a fairly young citizen") ca. 285.[84] Furthermore, the eponym Ἄγριος may refer to the holder of the priesthood of Helios (in 265 or 268, either date allowing for his son to be "fairly young" in ca. 258).[85] Finkielsztejn now places this name third in the Koroni group and suggests his date as 265 BCE. Given Athenian diplomatic preparations for war against Antigonos in 268, reinforcements and repairs to the fortifications on and near the Mouseion Hill about this time seem quite possible. Indeed, such work could have comprised part of the praiseworthy accomplishments of the ephebes at the Mouseion fort in 267/266.[86] In such a scenario, Ἄγριος is best placed quite early among the Koroni eponyms; such a position works with the careers of both Εὔφρων and Ἱεροτέλης with only a minor adjustment to the latter.

The chronological positions of the other Koroni eponyms depend in part on their presence or absence from Eretria and Athens. Ἀντιλέων appears at both Eretria and in Athens. If he is placed at 269 then jars of that year may have entered Athens just before the siege, entered Eretria before the Macedonian attack, and were readily available for Patroklos' troops. Χρυ(σόστρατος), present in multiple examples at Koroni and absent from Athens, should date during the actual occupation of the campsite hence later than either Ἀντιλέων or Ἄγριος; perhaps 267 or, if we allow for Rhodian eponyms in the intervening year(s) but not present at Koroni, 266 or later. Certainly, with so few Rhodian eponym stamps at Koroni and various fabricant stamps on their own, it is possible that intervening years should be interpolated. Two points argue against this possibility: First, the later one puts Χρυ(σόστρατος), the more likely he should be expected to appear with Ἱεροτέλης as fabricant (but he does not). Second, the year 267 is already one of two years suggested above as being more richly supplied with Thasian stamps (the four from Δημάλκης), so we might expect the Rhodian pattern to be similar.

ZH-Group A Stamps

The best evidence for the chronology of the ZH-group A comes from the Serçelimanı Hellenistic shipwreck, where a cargo of ZH-group jars is accompanied by a single Thasian stamped amphora with the eponym

Πυθίων V (dated by Garlan to ca. 289 BCE).[87] Since this jar is a singleton on the wreck, it could represent either a leftover fraction of an earlier cargo, or a jar in a state of longer term re-use, re-filling, or reshipment. It may date near the time of the many ZH-group A amphoras on the wreck (with eponym Φιλα and possible eponym ΝΦ), but more likely it dates substantially earlier. At best, then we have a rough date for two eponyms in this group.

The material from Koroni and Eretria adds considerable information. Two eponyms, ΣΩ at Koroni and AN at Eretria, show a dotted border as well as a small Z followed by a taller H, so they should be placed near one another. ΣΩ also appears twice in excavations in the Athenian Agora and at least once from an unknown context in the modern city, so it likely entered Athens before Antigonos' siege.[88] If both names are placed in the very early 260s then they are available to Athens before siege, Eretria before the attack by Antigonos, and are still late enough to be 'new' for the Ptolemaic fleet. Of the other two Koroni eponyms, the most frequently occurring ΜΟΣ should be near AN and ΣΩ since here again the Z is unnecessarily shorter than the H. So ΜΟΣ can be placed in 268. With the eponym Φ, the two letters of the ZH are the same height; 267 would work for this eponym. With the ZH-group there are not as many known constraints on the spread of the known abbreviated eponyms, as there are for Rhodian and Thasian stamps, so the actual chronological spread of these four names may be more than four consecutive years. The scheme just proposed, however, fits the historical constraints, the similarities of style among the stamps, and places the stamp most commonly occurring at Koroni in the same year as one of the two commonly occurring Thasian eponyms.

In sum, the combination of assumptions about amphora access on the part of both Athens and Eretria before and during the Chremonidean War along with other intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the eponym stamps present at Koroni consistently point to dates early in the 260s (see Table 8.1). In addition, the chronological sequences of the amphora stamps as proposed here lend further weight (though admittedly not certainty) to Knoepfler's suggestion that Eretria was attacked as early as 268/7 and not ca. 265. The only stamps that must date later at Eretria are those from outside destruction contexts (indicated in parentheses in Table 8.1).

INTERPRETATIONS

Despite much critical attention since 1962, there are still fundamental features of the amphora finds from Koroni that lingered in the scholarly literature without being updated as amphora studies expanded. The re-

Table 8.1. Relation of Dates, Events, and Stamp Chronologies to the Amphora Finds from Koroni And Eretria.

Date	*Event*	*Thasian*[a]	*Koroni*	*Eretria*	*Rhodian*	*Koroni*	*Eretria*	*ZH-group*	*Koroni*	*Eretria*
271		‘Ηροφῶν 2			Πολυάρατος I					
270		Ενἀγόρας	X	XX	Φωκίων			AN		(XX)
269		’Απολλόδωρος		XX	’Αντιλέων	X	x	ΣΩ	XX	
268	Archonship of Peithidemos	Κλεόστρατος	XXX		’Αγριος	X		ΜΟΣ	XXXX	
267		Δημάλκης	XXXX		Χρυ(σόστρατος)	XXXX		Φ	X	
266	spike in Ptolemaic minting	’Ιδνάδης	X	(X)[b]	’Αριστίων					
265		Θεόπομπος		(X)	Κλεόννμος I					
264		Φείδιππος			Φρασίλας					
263	Archonship of Antipatros	Διαγόρας			Λύσανδρος					
262		Λεωμέδων			’Επίχαρμος					

Note: Each X indicates one published example.

[a] The chronological positions of Thasian and Rhodian names not discussed elsewhere in this paper are based on Yvon Garlan, “En visitant et revisitant les ateliers amphoriques de Thasos.” BCH 128-129 (2004-2005): 269-329; and Gérald Finkielsztejn, “Koan Amphorae Imported in the Southern Levant in the Hellenistic Period,” in The Hellenistic Polis of Kos: State, Economy and Culture, ed. Kerstin Höghammer (Uppsala: Acta Universe Uppsaliensis, 2004), 153–164.

[b] (X) indicates presence of the stamp but not from a context directly linked to events of the Chremonidean War.

cent decades of research have allowed for considerably greater precision and certainty in the dates of the amphora stamps found at Koroni. Wider attention to amphora typologies and assemblages both in Attica and in the broader Aegean now provide a much clearer context in which to consider the particular features of the Koroni material. The immediate aim of this second part, therefore, is to clarify the implications of these amphorological developments both for the position of Koroni in the narrative of the war and for how we are to imagine that the amphoras ended up at the site. This latter problem then leads into a closing consideration of the potential impact of large scale troop movements on trends in Hellenistic shipping and commerce.

The Amphora Record and the Events of the War

At the time of the original Koroni publications, the general consensus placed the dates of the war as ca. 265-261 BCE. The consensus now has shifted to 267-262.[89] The events of the war may be summarized as follows: The war began in the archonship of Peithidemos as attested by Chremonides' decree recording the alliance against Antigonos Gonatas.[90] The inscription from Rhamnous attesting to supplies for Patroklos' troops while also likely indicating the nearby presence of Antigonos' forces, also during the archonship of Peithidemos, indicates that both Antigonos and Patroklos were active in Attica already in the first year of the war.[91] Knoepfler argues that Antigonos arrived in the region from his slightly earlier campaign against Eretria.[92] In 266, a revolt of Gallic mercenaries at Megara temporarily distracted Antigonos, but he soon returned to the siege and a relief force of Spartan troops was defeated near Corinth in 265. Antigonos' siege of Athens continued to the summer of 262 and the surrender of Athens in the archonship of Antipatros.[93] A point of longstanding concern in this narrative, even raised already by Pausanias, is the lack of substantive action on the part of Patroklos to aid Athens against Antigonos. The appearance of Koroni as such a seemingly strong and long-term Ptolemaic base in Attica, to say nothing of the many other sites in Attica also thought to be Ptolemaic outposts, only makes more surprising Patroklos' reputation as ineffectual. The chronological evidence of the amphora stamps cannot resolve this problem, but it does lend weight to a minimalist view of Patroklos' presence in Attica.

Two scenarios could describe the Ptolemaic presence at Koroni: either 1) a brief presence early in the war, only as late as 266 or 265; or 2) somewhat longer occupation through to 262 but never serving as a base for a concerted effort to relieve the siege of Athens. The latter possibility is unlikely in light of the restricted number of known eponyms involved: at most four with the Thasians. One might argue that the restricted eponyms

need not be consecutive and need not represent the same years between the different classes. While these remain possible objections, the presence of stamps in each class that must date before 266 or even 267, together with the arguments for close links in terms of stamp syntax or style, all make it difficult to spread the stamps over the entire period from 267 (or earlier) to 262. By contrast, there is no difficulty in fitting all the known 'multiple' eponyms into the year or two immediately preceding the war and, as the chronologies seem to work currently, the years 267 through 265.

The chronological evidence from the amphora stamps, thus, makes Lauter-Bufe and Lauter's proposal of a settlement of the site in the 280s very unlikely and limits the Ptolemaic presence at Koroni only to the early years of the Chremonidean War. At this point, however, the possibility remains open that the site was an Athenian foundation (as Lauter-Bufe and Lauter argue) but established near the outbreak of the war.

Amphoras at Koroni and Supplies for the Ptolemaic Army

Discussion of the amphoras at Koroni from the initial publication and subsequent responses over the 1960s and 1970s were not limited to questions of chronology. The overall character of the assemblage also figured in the debate. Many of the amphora stamps are not matched in Athens but are matched in collections in Alexandria. In addition, as noted above, Grace proposed that the ZH-group A amphoras might be Egyptian in origin. Hence, the 'Egyptian' appearance of the Koroni assemblage alongside the presence of so many Ptolemaic coins supported the Ptolemaic identity of the site. The amphoras did seem to be 'old' even after Grace's revised Rhodian chronology, and the excavators noted the very large number of amphora fragments at the site. These last two points were combined to suggest that the age of the jars stemmed from their having been imported to Attica earlier and subsequently requisitioned by Patroklos' army for use as water jars.

Reconsideration of the amphoras requires modifications to these conclusions. The dates of the stamps in the major amphora classes indicate that the earliest jars were produced only in the year or so before the war started. Even the later material only dates a few years into the war. If these chronological arguments are correct, then the camp was only supplied for the first few seasons of the Chremonidean War. Had the Koroni amphoras been old jars that were requisitioned from the vicinity for use as water jars for the troops, a much wider range of dates would be expected. In addition, it is clear from the contrast between the Koroni and other Patroklos-related assemblages on the one hand and Athens and rural Attica on the other that Patroklos' forces could not have found many

of the jars they used in Athens or rural Attica. These areas were importing different amphoras in this period than those found in association with Patroklos. In addition, many of the amphoras that have been found in Attic rural sites without connection to Patroklos tend to be quite old and in a state of long-term re-use. Instead, merchants from around the Aegean and perhaps even the Mediterranean in general, apparently many of whom did not yet frequent Attic ports, filled the supply needs of Patroklos' quite large and peripatetic fleet. Similar contrasts have been noted between Athens and Koroni in terms of coins and fineware and plainware pottery. This is not to deny all access to supplies from the countryside; indeed such a source of supply is clearly indicated by the inscription from Rhamnous honoring Epichares for, among other things, providing supplies to Patroklos' troops early in the war in northern Attica.[94] The amphoras, coins and other pottery at Koroni, however, all indicate that such local requisitions did not constitute a major source of provisions.

By the same line of reasoning, an Athenian settlement of the site, whether in the 280s or later, and then supplemented by the Ptolemaic forces, is unlikely. Had the site been used, even for a relatively brief period, as a replacement for Piraeus, the contrast between the Koroni assemblage and finds in the city center of Athens should not be so pronounced. Likewise, the contrast with rural assemblages problematizes a large-scale presence of Athenian settlers at Koroni. While it is impossible to exclude the presence of some small Attic population at Koroni alongside the Ptolemaic troops and their camp-followers, the site seems best interpreted as a Ptolemaic camp, which was perhaps intended to be substantial and lasting, but which in the course of the Chremonidean War turned out to be short lived.

WINE AND SOLDIERS, MONEY AND MERCHANTS

Having addressed the most immediate concerns raised by the finds at Koroni—the chronology of the site's use and the identity of its inhabitants—I turn in closing to some broader issues of interpretation related to the amphoras found at Koroni and related sites. The first such issue is perhaps most closely related to the site itself, namely the longstanding assertion that the amphoras were water jars rather than containers of wine. From clarifying the expectable needs of the troops in terms of wine and other amphora-borne products, I turn to the wider economic impact of the Ptolemy II's campaigning in the early third century.

Vanderpool and colleagues' perception of what they considered as a surprisingly large number of amphora fragments at the site need not be taken as a sign of excessive drunkenness among the troops even if they

were imported as wine containers. Wine was a standard ration in the ancient world. Livy (37.27), for example, attests to the offer of 5,000 jars of wine from Teos for the supply of Antiochus III's army in 190 BCE. Cato the Elder (*de Agricultura*, 57) recommended a wine ration for slaves between a half and one-and-a-half liters per day. Even a modest number of troops would require large numbers of amphoras to supply such a ration (assuming one twenty-thirty liter amphora would suffice for thirty men, 500 amphoras would 'feed' 15,000 men for one day).

Such reference to the likely wine rations and needs of the Ptolemaic forces, however, risks inviting two misconceptions. First, the numbers of published stamps or other amphora fragments from Koroni cannot be used to reconstruct the actual number of containers imported; to do so would ignore far too many pre- and post-depositional factors, the very slim portion of the site excavated, and the inconsistent portion of amphoras that were stamped even in one class at one point in time. Second, while amphoras often contained wine and undeniably held a close iconographic association with wine, there is overwhelming evidence that they were simply containers, and a wide range of goods likely arrived at Koroni in the amphoras attested by the published fragments.[95] Indeed, Vanderpool and his colleagues were certainly right to note the need for water containers, especially given the lack of other sources of fresh water supply or storage in the camp, and amphoras could have brought fresh water to the camp.[96] Furthermore, once emptied they could have served as water jars regardless of their original contents on arrival.[97]

Consideration of the amphoras as commercial containers, as trade goods, introduces the broader problem of the impact of the Chremonidean War and related events on Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean economies. Indeed, integrating the updated evidence from the amphoras with recent numismatic research related to the Chremonidean War moves the discussion beyond the details of the war's narrative to its scale and broader impact. The emerging picture of the war is that, despite the scarcity of ancient testimonia, it had a considerable impact on the economic landscape of the Aegean basin. In this latter area, the evidence from the amphora record just summarized usefully complements the numismatic and textual evidence.

On the basis of hoard evidence from Meydancıkkale, Eretria, Kozani, Sidon, and Corinth, Philippe Rodriguez notes a peak in Ptolemaic minting around the middle of the Chremonidean War, ca. 266/265.[98] At Corinth this peak starts a little earlier, ca. 270 BCE; at Eretria and Kozani the peak spans ca. 266-260/59. Rodriguez attributes this peak to the funding of the Ptolemaic fleet for the war, and he attributes the spread of these coins to "voie commerciale."[99] While these hoards need not have accumulated precisely or only at the site of their eventual and much later

deposition, they do provide, as Rodriguez observes, a clear indication of the scale of financial resources injected into the Aegean by Ptolemy II's military efforts. And in this sense, as I consider shortly, the numismatic and amphorological data may be neatly coordinated.

Particularly noteworthy, in terms of coordinating the amphorological, numismatic, and historical evidence, is the discovery of a Ptolemaic coin, either from Ptolemy I or II, in the same well deposit at Eretria where the two amphora stamps of the Thasian Εὐαγόρας also appeared alongside a Greco-Italic amphora and toes of, perhaps, ZH-group A amphoras.[100] Hence the 'Ptolemaic' appearance of the amphoras is matched by this Ptolemaic coin. That such artifacts should be considered calling-cards of Patroklos' fleet is supported by Knoepfler's suggestion that the cult of Arsinoe II, attested by an altar inscription from Eretria, was brought to Eretria by Patroklos in 268/7 (but presumably before the attack by Antigonos on his way to Attica in spring 267).[101] Without this otherwise unattested visit by Patroklos, it is difficult to explain the Ptolemaic appearance of the Eretrian amphora assemblages.

In a more general, but no less important sense, the amphora record indicates a significant commercial impact of the Ptolemaic fleet just as Rodriguez argues from the numismatic evidence. The excavators' observation that the amphora assemblage at Koroni differs from that of Athens was then used simply to assert a non-Athenian identity of the site. And yet this same contrast, expanded upon above, can be used to question where the 'camp merchants' had been normally operating before their attention was drawn to Patroklos' fleet? The balance between the Rhodian and ZH-group A stamps at Koroni along with the Koan and Parian jars gives the assemblage the 'look' of the southeastern Aegean, not the western side of the Aegean. Similar early third-century assemblages with a mix of early Rhodian, Rhodian peraia, and Knidos region jars are seen at Ephesos to the north of the region and Kaunos to the south.[102] Two shipwrecks involving Rhodes or the region of Rhodes and Cyprus reinforce the importance of Rhodian ties to the Ptolemies early in the third century. The shipwreck at Kyrenia (ca. 290 BCE) on the north coast of Cyprus is dominated by various Rhodian, nearby mainland, and other southeastern Aegean types mixed with a few Levantine and at least two Cypriot amphoras.[103] A contemporary wreck at Kurtoğlou Burnu (at the north side of the Gulf of Fethiye) shows a similar mix of what are, for that ship, various local regional amphoras as well as likely Cypriot jars.[104] The significant presence of early Rhodian stamps in Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt as well as the fact that early Ptolemaic amphoras used models from the Rhodian region for their design only add to this archaeological evidence linking Ptolemaic commerce with the southeastern Aegean. It would not be surprising then if Patroklos' fleet, which had worked its

way towards Attica with stops at other areas under Ptolemaic or Rhodian influence (Crete and Thera),[105] diverted merchants of the Rhodes-Cyprus-Alexandria corridor and the regional circuits around Rhodes itself further into the western half of the Aegean than they had been accustomed to in the past. While Rhodian and neighboring jars had been circulating in a fairly restricted zone of the Aegean in the early third century, Thasian amphoras had been much more widespread in their area of intensive circulation for the past century. Therefore, the Thasian presence at Koroni does not distract from the otherwise Rhodian-area 'appearance' of the Koroni assemblage. The Greco-Italic and Punic presence is harder to explain. Ptolemaic activity in the southern Argolid (Methana and Troizen[106]) along with the alliance with Sparta, and hence access to at least parts of the Peloponnese, might have brought Ptolemaic forces into closer contact with the zone of trade linking the Peloponnese with the Adriatic coast of Italy and areas further west.[107] While Corinth often seems to be a key point in access to western goods in this region, the Macedonian garrison there may have reduced the city's role in channeling western amphoras to the Ptolemaic forces.

If this emerging picture of southeastern Aegean merchants having been diverted towards Attica to supply this army is correct, then the next question is to what extent that diversion affected trade and production more broadly and permanently. It is tempting, though only speculative, to associate such military diversions to existing regional trade patterns with wholesale transformation of these patterns by the last quarter of the third century. The long-term impact on merchant behavior of supplying Koroni and perhaps other military campaigns in the third century might go far in explaining transformations in patterns of Hellenistic shipping.

CONCLUSION

Modern understanding of different aspects of the Chremonidean War has developed at different rates over the decades since the original publication by Vanderpool and his colleagues in 1962. Historical research saw considerable progress first with Heinen's monograph in 1972 and then with a series of articles published in the 1990s. Rotroff's introduction to the reprinting of Homer and Dorothy Thompson's major articles on Hellenistic pottery and terracottas along with her various articles leading up to the publication of *Agora* 29 brought the implications of a Ptolemaic identity of the camp at Koroni to bear on Early Hellenistic fine and plain ware chronologies. While amphora stamp chronologies and our understanding of patterns in Early Hellenistic amphora distributions have continued to develop since Grace's 1974 article downdating the Rhodian, the

impacts of these isolated developments have not been integrated into the changing understanding of the War.

The syntheses of current amphora research offered here has most immediate implications for the chronology of activity at the camp. The Ptolemaic occupation of the site appears to have only involved the first few years of the Chremonidean War, perhaps not lasting beyond 266 or 265 BCE. All three of the major classes of amphora stamp present at the site offer eponyms, sometimes with multiple examples pertaining to the same year, that are all argued on various grounds to date between ca. 270 and 266 BCE. The amphora types found at Koroni, furthermore, are often matched by finds at other sites associated with Ptolemaic troop movements during the War while differing markedly from amphora types found in Athens and rural Attic sites not otherwise associated with Patroklos' troops. From this point of difference, the site of Koroni appears to have received its supplies from merchants who had not normally supplied Attica earlier. Earlier suggestions that Koroni's Ptolemaic inhabitants drew supplies from the surrounding countryside are thus unsupported. Instead, the Ptolemaic naval campaigns drew merchants into new trade routes. In the decades following the Chremonidean War these cross-Aegean routes, linking the area of Rhodes with Attica and Athens became the norm. To the extent that numismatists have come to see a substantial impact of Ptolemaic expenditures on the money supply of the third-century Aegean, so too the commercial demand exerted by large-scale movements of troops during the 260s appear to have been a significant catalyst for changes to Aegean patterns of shipping and trade.

NOTES

1. I first encountered the site of Koroni as a graduate student under John Camp's guidance as we climbed along the rubble of the fortifications on a bitterly cold, windswept day in the winter of 1992. John's rigorous attention to both textual and archaeological sources sets a challenging standard. I offer this paper to John with much gratitude for his support of my research over the years and no small amount of trepidation, knowing that he could address the topic better himself.

Eugene Vanderpool, James R. McCredie, and Arthur Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," *Hesperia* 31 (1962): 26–61, is the primary report.

2. James McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 1966), 9, updates the total to twenty-seven of Ptolemy II, six generally Ptolemaic, one to Ptolemy I, and twelve from other sources. See, too, Eirene Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον, 266/5–263/2 π.Χ.," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* Γ′ (1953–1954) [1961]:

321–349, and Eirene Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Les témoinages numismatiques sur la guerre chrémonidéenne (265–262 av. J.C.)," in *Congresso internazionale de numismatica, Roma, 11-16 settembre 1961*, vol. 2, *Atti* (Rome: Roma Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1965), 225–226.

3. Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 59.

4. The main point of reference for major studies of the war is Heinz Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Zur Geschichte der Zeit des Ptolemaios Keraunos und zum chremonideischen Krieg* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1972); more recently, see Boris Dreyer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen: 322–ca. 230 v. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 283–376; James L. O'Neil, "A Re-Examination of the Chremonidean War," in *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*, ed. Paul McKechnie and Philippe Guillaume (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 65–89. Other summaries of the events and discussion include Édouard Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique, 323–30 av. J.-C.*, vol. 1, *De la mort d'Alexandre aux avènements d'Antiochos III et de Philippe V* (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1966), 198–206; and Christian Habicht, *Athen: die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 147–153. On the episode of the Gauls, see C. Bradford Welles, "Gallic Mercenaries in the Chremonidean War," *Klio* 52 (1970): 477–490.

5. Virginia R. Grace, "Notes on the Amphoras from the Koroni Peninsula," *Hesperia* 32 (1963): 319–334; G. Roger Edwards, "Koroni: The Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 32 (1963): 10–111; Eugene Vanderpool, James R. McCredie, and Arthur Steinberg, "Koroni: The Date of the Camp and the Pottery," *Hesperia* 33 (1964): 69–75.

6. Virginia R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," *AM* 89 (1974): 193–200, which includes an appendix by John H. Kroll on the coins.

7. Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 38; McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*," 12.

8. *Agora* 29: 31–32.

9. Heide Lauter-Bufe, "Die Befestung auf Koroni und die Bucht von Porto Raphti: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Athens im 3. Jh. v. Chr.," in *Attische Festungen, Beiträge zum Festungswesen und zur Siedlungsstruktur vom 5. bis zum 3. Jh. v. Chr.*, ed. Hans Lauter, Heide Lauter-Bufe, and Hans Lohmann (Marburg: Koch, 1989), 67–02; and Hans Lauter, "Some Remarks on Fortified Settlements in the Attic Countryside," in *Fortificationes Antiquae (Including the Papers of a Conference Held at Ottawa University, October 1988)*, ed. Symphorion van de Maele and John M. Fossey (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1992), 77–79 and 84–89.

10. *Agora* 29: 32.

11.

- Δημάλκης: Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 51, nos. 105, 106, 107, and one other example found at the site before 1959, examined by Virginia Grace and returned to its owner, now documented only in the American School Archives.
- Κλεόστρατος: Ibid., 4–50, nos. 87, 95, 96.
- Ἰδνάδης: Ibid., 50, no. 97.
- Εὐαγόρας was only found in the 1959 surface survey (American School of Classical Studies sherd collection, ASP 77).

12. Throughout this text, as is standard in amphora publications, a rounded bracket indicates that the stamp's impression is complete but the name is incomplete; square brackets indicate that the stamp is incompletely preserved. These brackets are only closed when the end of the gap is known.
- Χρυ(σόστρατος: Ibid., 33, 41, 48, nos. 5, 11, 62, 63, 81.
- Ἄγριος: Ibid., 35, no. 27.
- Ἀντιλέων: Ibid., 41, no. 64.

13. παρὰ Παυσανία: Ibid., 46, no. 75. While Παυσανίας with παρὰ is not physically attested with these same eponyms, Gerald Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée des eponyms amphoriques rhodiens, de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ: Premier bilan*. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 76, proposes his rough contemporaneity with Εὔφρων (who is attested with each of the Koroni eponyms) on account of the shared use of the preposition παρὰ. The Rhodian (fabricant) Ἄστος (Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 51, no. 109) is not well-dated.

14.
- Ονα(: Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 51, no. 111 (possibly Rhodian–there is a later fabricant Ὀνάσιμος).
- Θευ[,Ibid., 50, no. 99 and 53, no. 127.

15. Late third- or early second-century stamps with a larger ZH as the only letters in a larger stamp are referred to as ZH group B; on the distinction between ZH group A and B, see Virginia R. Grace, "The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps," *Hesperia* 54 (1985): 19.

16. Jean-Yves Empereur, and Numan Tuna, "Zenon et l'épave de Serçe Limani," *BCH* 112 (1988): 341-357.

17. Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 48, 51-52, nos. 84, 113–119. The fifth ΜΟΣ stamp is from the 1959 surface survey (American School sherd collection, ASP 76).

18.
- Ζωπύρου: Ibid., 48, no. 82; for other examples see Christoph Börker and Johannes Burow, *Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon.* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 114, no. 518; Mihai Gramatopol, and Gheorghe Poenaru Bordea, "Amphora Stamps from Callatis and South Dobroudja," *Dacia* n.s. 13 (1969): 257, no. 1075; Mark L. Lawall, "Hellenistic Stamped Amphora Handles" in *Die Basilika am Staatsmarkt in Ephesos 2. Teil: Funde klassischer bis römischer Zeit* (Forschungen in Ephesos IX/2/3), ed. Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon and Claudia Lang-Auinger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 54, no. 67a-d; however none of these provides independent evidence for the date of this stamp.
- Μάνου, Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 33, no. 7—the Parian provenance is indicated by finds of similar jars on the island itself. See Jean-Yves Empereur and Maurice Picon, "Des ateliers d'amphores à Paros et à Naxos," *BCH* 110 (1986): 495–511, and 647–653.

19. Ἀριστοδίκου: Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 39, no. 59; 48, no. 83; 52, no. 120. Other examples: Ilion (Christine Panas,

and Herman Pontes, "Stamped Amphora and Lagynos Handles from the 1989-1995 Seasons," *Studia Troica* 8 (1998): 223–262, no. 54, *n.b.* further consideration of the relevant stratigraphy and pottery indicates that the stamp need not date as early as 350-300), and at Eretria, see below.

20. Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 52, no. 126.

21.

- A/: Ibid., 51, no. 110.
- Αρτυσ(: Ibid., 52, no. 121.
- Ερα: Ibid., 52, no. 122.
- monogram AΨN?: Ibid., 52, no. 123.
- Θ: ibid., 52, no. 124.
- illegible round stamp: Ibid., 52, no. 125.

22. On this general shape, its longevity, and its association with both Levantine and western Punic amphoras, see Dalit Regev, "The Phoenician Transport Amphora," in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, 26-29 September, 2002*, ed. Jonas Eiring and John Lund (Athens: Danish Institute at Athens, 2004), 337–352; for the most extensive typology of the western Punic amphoras, see Joan Ramón, *Las ánforas fenicio-púnicas del Mediterráneo central y occidental* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1995).

23. Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 33, no. 4.

24. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον," plate 3, nos. 24, 26, and 11. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*," 30, n. 25, adds that "many toes in the stored context pottery from Koroni are of this apparently rare type."

25. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον," plate 3, no. 29.

26. Ibid., plate 3, no. 23.

27. Ibid., plate 3, no. 16.

28. Ibid., plate 3, nos. 13, 19, 25, and 27.

29. Ibid., plate 3, nos. 14-15.

30. Ibid., plate 3, no. 17.

31. Denis Knoepfler, "Les kryptoi du stratège Épicharès à Rhamnonte et le début de la guerre de Chrémonidès," *BCH* 117 (1993): 339, suggests 268 BCE; but in Denis Knoepfler, "Les relations des cites eubéennes avec Antigone Gonatas et la chronologie delphique au début de l'époque étolienne," *BCH* 119 (1995): 144, he proposes Eretrian independence in the spring of 268 with Macedonian control re-established at least by 265, when Histiaea is the Euboian representative to the Delphic Amphictyony, but concludes that the reassertion of Macedonian control likely came ca. 267; Gary Reger, "Athens and Tenos in the Early Hellenistic Age," *Classical Quarterly* 42 (1992): 377, places the recapture of Eretria ca. 265; Stefan G. Schmid, "A Group of Early Hellenistic Pottery from a Well in Eretria," in *Ε Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χανιά 1997* (Athens: Ekdosē tou Tameiou Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn, 2000), 363, n. 16, attributes a destruction date of ca. 265 to Knoepfler, but this is not the case.

32. For the well deposit near the Mosaic house, see Schmid, "Early Hellenistic Pottery"; for the lower fill of the well in House IV-East room B, see Ingrid R. Metzger, "Funde aus einem Brunnen un Gebäude IV in Eretria," in *Ε Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χανιά 1997* (Athens: Ekdosē tou Tameiou Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn, 2000): 345–356; for the Mosaic house, see Ingrid R. Metzger, "Die Keramik aus der Zerstörungsgeschicht des Mosaikenhauses in Eretria," in *Β Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Πρακτικά, Ρόδος 1989* (Athens: ΚΒ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, Ρόδος, 1990), 44–47. Most amphora stamps from these contexts are compiled in M. Palaczyk and E. Schönenberger, "Amphorenstempel," in *Matrizengeformte hellenistische Terrakotten. Amphorenstempel Grabungen 1965–2001*. Eretria Ausgrabungen und Forschungen 12, by N. Mekacher, M. Palaczyk and E. Schönenberger (Gollion, 2003), 163–256.

33. Schmid, "Early Hellenistic Pottery," 370 (=Palaczyk and Schönenberger, "Amphorenstempel," nos. 6-7).

34. Palaczyk and Schönenberger, "Amphorenstempel," no. 10.

35. Ibid., no. 9, the name also appears on a stamp in House I, court I, but the stratigraphic situation of this find spot is not discussed.

36. Ibid., 12.2, no. 21.

37. Ibid., 12.2, nos. 46 and 47.

38. For Ἰδνάδης, Virginia Grace's notes refer to Eretria inventory number 15531, cf. the unrestored Ibid., no. 19 = Inv. 3113 also from the area of the West Gate; Ἀριστόδικος, see Ibid., no. 202.

39. Ibid., no. 3; for the link between names, see Yvon Garlan, "Nouvelles remarques sur la chronologie des timbres amphoriques thasiens," *Journal des Savants* (1993): 167–169; Yvon Garlan, "En visitant et revisitant les ateliers amphoriques de Thasos," *BCH* 128-129 (2004–2005): 321.

40. Metzger, "Funde aus einem Brunnen," nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; Schmid, "Early Hellenistic Pottery," nos. 54, 55, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68.

41. Alongside examples cited here from Eretria, the type is common at New Halos (Colette Beestman-Kruyshaar, "Appendix 1. Catalogue of Pottery," in *Housing in New Halos: A Hellenistic Town in Thessaly, Greece*, ed. H. Reinder Reinders and Wietske Prummel [Lisse, Netherlands: A. A. Balkema, 2003], 265, Types 1, 2, and 5), and stamps indicate production in this general area, including Eretria itself (Palaczyk and Schönenberger, "Amphorenstempel," no. 198), Tanagra (unpublished jar from Pella), and Meliboia in Thessaly (*ArchDelt* 16 [1960], figure 79).

42. Schmid, "Early Hellenistic Pottery," nos. 62-64 Chian, nos. 69 and 71 central Ionia, no. 70 Greco-Italic; no. 56 might be closer to the region of Knidos. Metzger, "Funde aus einem Brunnen," no. 3, is Greco-Italic.

43. Of the various islands visited by Patroklos' fleet during the war (Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 143–152, Crete, Thera, Kea, Delos, Samos), only the Hellenistic material from Kea has been studied by previous researchers looking in particular for similarities to Koroni. While amphora material from both Delos and Samos are extensively published, there has not been an effort to characterize the early Hellenistic assemblages on these islands. Amphora material from both Crete and Thera has received less attention (for Crete during the Chremonidean War, Emmanuel Microyannakis, "Chremonidean War and

Crete," in *Πεπραγμένα Η Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ηράκλειο 9–14 σεπτεμβρίου 1996, 2. Προϊστορική και αρχαία ελληνική περίοδος* (Heraklion: Hetairia Krētikōn Historikōn Meletōn, 2000), 299–311; for Theran amphoras see Arno Kose, "Die Höhle Pilarou beim Felsheiligtum Christos," in *Das dorische Thera*, vol. 5, *Stadgeschichte und Kultstätten am nördlichen Stadtrand*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner (Berlin: Mann, 1997), 73–150.

44. This and other unpublished Hellenistic finds from Koresia and Agia Irini are described in Virginia Grace's notes on file at the American School of Classical Studies and are mentioned by Grace, "Notes on the Amphoras," 332, note 26, and Addendum. For Koresia and Kea in general during the Chremonidean War, see Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 149-150; John L. Caskey, "Koroni and Keos," in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 1982), 14–16; and John F. Cherry and Jack L. Davis. "The Ptolemaic Base at Koressos on Keos," *BSA* 86 (1991): 9–8.

45. Caskey, "Koroni and Keos."

46. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*," 46-48; Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον," 323–326, and "Les témoinages numismatiques," reports Ptolemaic coins at this site of the same types found at Koroni.

47. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*," 30–32; Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον," and "Les témoinages numismatiques," reports numerous Ptolemaic coins similar to those at Koroni as well as arrow points and sling bullets.

48. For the Epichares inscription from Rhamnous, see p. 211, note 91; no amphora material is published from this site.

49. Paus. 1.1.1 and Strabo 9.21.

50. Helioupolis, see Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον," plate 3, no. 3 [with profile no. 9]); Mikrokavouri, plate 3, no. 4. John Lund, "Transport Amphorae as Evidence of Exportation of Italian Wine and Oil to the Eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic Period," in *Between Orient and Occident. Studies in Honour of P.J. Riis*, ed. John Lund, Peter Pentz, and Flemming Gorm Andersen (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 2000), 80, on the unusually early occurrence of Greco-Italic amphoras at sites associated with Ptolemaic control early in the third century.

51. For Helioupolis, see Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, "Συμβολὴ εις τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον," plate 3, nos. 7–8.

52. Beestman-Kruyshaar, "Appendix 1. Catalogue of Pottery," 266, figure 6.4, no. P275 and 267, figure 6.4, P290.

53. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, 23–25, does draw parallels between the fineware material from the fortified area of the island and the finds from Koroni. For the Sinopean stamp, McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, 24, no. 17, see Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres céramiques sinopéens sur amphores et sur tuiles trouvés à Sinope. Présentation et catalogue* (Paris: Institut français d'études anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil, 2004), 119, no. 66, placing the astynomos Ἐπιέλπης ca. 325 BCE. Hans Lohmann, *Atene: Forschungen zu Siedlungs-und Wirtschaftsstruktur des klassischen Attika*, pt. 2, *Fundstellenkatalo* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1993), plate

16, publishes southern Aegean mushroom rim fragments from the site, dating from the late fifth century through much of the fourth century, and there are other fourth century or earlier amphora fragments in the ASCSA sherd collection.

54. J. E. Jones, L. Hugh Sackett, and Alexander J. Graham, "An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari," *BSA* 68 (1973): nos. 124-130, are all amphora forms in use in the fourth century including examples from Chios (no. 129), central Ionia (no. 124), and northern Greece (nos. 125, 126, and 128).

55. Hans Lohmann, "Ein Turmgehöft klassischer Zeit in Thimari (Attika)," *AM* 108 (1993): 101–149.

56. Lohmann, *Atene*.

57. The deposits were selected for being relatively rich in amphora material: E 29:1 (closed ca. 290, *Agora* 29:498), P 10:1 (closed ca. 285, *Agora* 29:468), J 5:1 ('Crossroads well', closed ca. 275 for the lower fill, *Agora* 29:458), P 6:7 (closed ca. 280, T. Leslie Shear Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42 [1973]: 141, n., 49; Thomas L. Milbank, "A Commercial and Industrial Building in the Athenian Agora, 480 B.C. to A.D. 125 [Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 2002]), O 20:3 (lower fill closed ca. 275, *Agora* 29:466-467), D-E 8-9:1 (closed ca. 275, *Agora* 29:444), F16:6 (closed ca. 275, *Agora* 29:451), H 16:7 (closed ca. 275, *Agora* 29:456), Q 10:1 (closed ca. 270, *Agora* 29:469; Alexandru Avram, *Les timbres amphoriques*, vol. 1, *Thasos* [Bucharest: Editura Enciclopediča, 1996], 29; Yvon Garlan, "Koukos," in *Thasiaca* [Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1979], 249; further comments, Mark L. Lawall, "Amphoras in the 1990s: In Need of Archaeology," *AJA* 105[2001]: 534), B 13:8 (closed ca. 260, *Agora* 29:436), A 17:3 (closed ca. 250, *Agora* 29:434), D 17:3 (closed ca. 250, *Agora* 29: 443), D 16:1 (closed ca. 250, *Agora* 29:442).

58. Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 38, no. 44.

59. For Italian and Punic imports to Athens, see Mark L. Lawall, "Consuming the West in the East: Amphoras of the Western Mediterranean in Athens before 86 BC," in *Old Pottery in a New Century. Innovating Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies, Catania 22-24 April 2004*, ed. John Lund, Daniele Malfitana, and Jeroen Poblome (Catania: CNR. Istituto per i beni archeologici e monumentali [etc.], 2007), pp. 265–288. Levantine amphora fragments are extremely rare in the Aegean basin and adjacent regions. I know of one late second-century example from Ephesos (Tamás Bezeczky, "Early Roman Food Import in Ephesus: Amphorae from the Tetragonos Agora," in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, 26–29 September, 2002*, ed. Jonas Eiring and John Lund [Athens: Danish Institute at Athens, 2004] 93, no. 24), one from Hellenistic contexts at Olbia on the Black Sea (unpublished), and three fragments from the Gordion excavations (Mark L. Lawall, "Pontic, Aegean and Levantine Amphoras at Gordion," in *Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea, International Round-Table Conference, Batumi-Trabzon, 27–29 April 2006*, ed. Dominique Kassab-Tezgör and Nino Inaišvili (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes-Georges Dumezil, 2010), 159–165.

60. On the Benaki collection, see Grace, "Notes on the Amphoras," 331, nn. 25 and 29; Virginia R. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles–The Benachi Collection," *Archaeology* 19 (1966): 286-288; Virginia R. Grace and Maria Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, "Les timbres amphoriques grecs," in *Exploration archéologique de*

Délos, vol. 27, *l'Îlot de la maison des comédiens*, by Philippe Bruneau et al. (Paris: de Boccard, 1970), 285; Grace, "The Middle Stoa," 42; for cautionary comments as to this collection's validity in quantitative studies of amphora stamps and amphoras in general, see, for example, John Lund, "Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes and Alexandria as Evidence of Trade," in *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture, and Society*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen et al. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1999), 187–204, and Jean-Yves Empereur, "Les anses d'amphores timbrées et les amphores: aspects quantitatifs," *BCH* 106 (1982): 219–233.

61. E.g., Zofia Sztetyłło, "Timbres céramiques grecs des fouilles polonaises à Alexandrie (1962–1972)," *Études et Travaux* 16 (1975): 160–235; Zofia Sztetyłło, "Timbres céramiques des fouilles polonaises à Alexandrie (1982-1987)," *Études et Travaux* 16 (1992): 179–223; Zofia Sztetyłło, "Timbres céramiques des fouilles polonaises à Alexandrie (1979–1982)," *Études et Travaux* 16 (1992): 151–177; and Zofia Sztetyłło, "Pottery stamps," in *Tell Atrib 1985–1995*, vol. 1, *Stemple Ceramiczne Pottery Stamps* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2000), 53–163.

62. Virginia R. Grace and Jean-Yves Empereur, "Un groupe d'amphores ptolémaïques estampilées," in *Bulletin de Centenaire. Supplement to Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale de Caire* 81 (Cairo, 1981), 409–426, on the so-called Petos group; for references to subsequent work and the most recent collection of papers on Hellenistic amphoras in Egypt, see Antigone Marangou and Sylvie Marchand, "Conteneurs importés et égyptiens de Tebtynis (Fayoum) de la deuxième moitié du ive siècle av. J.-C. au xe siècle apr. J.-C," in *Amphores d'Égypte de la Basse Époque à l'époque arabe*, ed. Sylvie Marchand and Antigone Marangou (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2007), 239–294.

63. Mark L. Lawall, "Egyptian and Imported Transport Amphoras," in *Coptos. The University of Michigan-University of Assiut Excavations (1988-1992)*, ed. Sharon Herbert and Andrea Berlin (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2003), 157–191; Sandrine Marquié, "Les amphores trouvées dans le Wadi Natrun (Beni Salama et de Bir Hooker)," in *Amphores d'Égypte de la Basse Époque à l'époque arabe*, ed. Sylvie Marchand and Antigone Marangou (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2007), 77–114, figure 6 (labeled as Knidian, but appears more Greco-Italic), figure 7 (possibly Greco Italic), and figure 11 (region of Knidos); Delphine Dixneuf and Guy Lecuyot, "Note préliminaire sur les amphores découvertes par la mission 'Recherches sur les ateliers hellénistiques et romains de Bouto' (2002–2003)," in *Amphores d'Égypte de la Basse Époque à l'époque arabe*, ed. Sylvie Marchand and Antigone Marangou (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2007), 135–141, figure 9 (possible Greco Italic); Sylvie Marchand, "Les amphores égyptiennes et importees de la Basse Époque à l'époque arabe. Abou Rawash (1995–2004)," in *Amphores d'Égypte de la Basse Époque à l'époque arabe*, ed. Sylvie Marchand and Antigone Marangou (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2007), 175-188, figure 12b (early Hellenistic Rhodian toe); Marangou and Marchand, "Conteneurs importés," figure 24 (Rhodian of the same tall, band form seen at Koroni), figures 32 and 33 (Greco Italic).

64. Even so the precision of amphora stamp chronologies varies widely from the poorly defined Koan chronology to the fairly precise Rhodian, see Gērald Finkielsztejn, "Koan Amphorae Imported in the Southern Levant in the Hellenistic Period," in *The Hellenistic Polis of Kos: State, Economy and Culture*, ed. Kerstin

Höghammer (Uppsala: Acta Universe Uppsaliensis, 2004), 153–164, on Koan amphora chronologies and Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée*, for Rhodian.

65. The temporary lifting of the siege and this date follow the reconstruction of Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 213.

66. Janice J. Gabbert, "The Anarchic Dating of the Chremonidean War," *Classical Journal* 82 (1987): 233–234 (cf. Reger, "Athens and Tenos," 371–379). Graham J. Oliver, *War, Food, and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 238–241, notes the absence of attested movement of foreign grain to Athens during the war, but cautiously avoids accepting this lack of evidence as an indication of a lack of grain imports; certainly, as Oliver notes earlier (page 124), other harbors could receive and move grain overland to Athens even if Piraeus was inaccessible.

67. Of the Thasian eponyms at Koroni, Δημάλκης appears at least twice in Athens (see Evgenij Pridik, "Amphorenstempel aus Athen," *AM* 21 (1896): 175, nos. 3 and 5); Ἰδνάδης appears at least once (Athens National Museum collection, reference from Virginia Grace card files); Κλεόστρατος is found in the Agora excavations (SS 4293, from deposit E14:1). Of the Koroni Rhodian eponyms, only Ἄγριος (in Compartment Wall, see discussion below) and Ἀντιλέων (two examples in the National Museum collection, reference from V. Grace card files) appear in the city. Only the Compartment Wall example is from a known archaeological context whose circumstances present problems for the assumed closure of Athens to substantial imports during the war.

68. Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, vol. 1, *Timbres protothasiens et thasiens anciens* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1999), supercedes all previous studies of this group.

69. Garlan, "En visitant et revisitant."

70. Sinopean chronology, see Garlan, *Les timbres céramiques sinopéens*; for Chersonesan, see Vladimir F. Stolba, "Hellenistic Chersonesos: Towards Establishing a Local Chronology," in *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period c. 400–100 B.C.*, ed. Vladimir F. Stolba and Lise Hannestad (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2006), 153–177; for Herakleian, see Vladimir I. Kac, "A New Chronology for the Ceramic Stamps of Herakleia Pontike," in *The Cauldron of Ariantas: Studies Presented to A. N. Ščeglov on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. Pia Guldager Bilde, Jakob Munk Højte, and Vladimir F. Stolba (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 261–278; Emilian Teleaga, "Beiträge zur Chronologie der Amphorenstempel und der Amphoren von Heraklea Pontike," *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 22 (2003): 69–113; and Natalia Pavlichenko, "Les timbres amphoriques d'Heraclea du Pont: bilan et perspectives de recherché," in *Production et commerce des amphores anciennes en Mer Noire: Colloque international organisé à Istanbul, 25–28 mai 1994*, ed. Yvon Garlan (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1999), 13–21. On the often-difficult relationship between numismatic and ceramic evidence for chronologies, see Susan I. Rotroff, "Coins and Stratigraphy," in *Numismatic Archaeology, Archaeological Numismatics. Proceedings of an International Conference Held to Honour Dr. Mando Oeconomides in Athens 1995*, ed. Kenneth A Sheedy and Charikleia Papageorgiadou-Banis (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 8–16.

71. For stamps from Demetrias, see Michel Debidour, "En classant les timbres thasiens," in *Recherches sur les amphores grecques: actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique, l'Université de Rennes II et l'École française d'Athènes: Athènes, 10–12 septembre 1984*, ed. Jean-Yves Empereur and Yvon Garlan (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1986), 330–334. The specific date of foundation is not known, see Friedrich Stählin, Ernst Meyer, and Alfred Heidner, *Pagasai und Demetrias: Beschreibung der Reste und Stadtgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1934), 178, note 5. For the Thasian names found at Alexandria, see the list published by Debidour, "En classant les timbres thasiens," 330-334.

72. Vladimir. F. Stolba, "Local Patterns of Trade in Wine and the Chronological Implications of Amphora Stamps," in *The Black Sea in Antiquity: Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen and John Lund (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2007), 154-157, makes this point with reference to Alexandria and especially to the issue of wine aged in amphoras before exportation; more generally, see J. Theodore Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Others have cautioned against placing too much weight on the material from Alexandria, see Debidour, "En classant les timbres thasiens," 313, and Alexandru Avram, *Les timbres amphoriques*, vol. 1, *Thasos* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1996), 31, n. 93. William D. E. Coulson, "Chatby Reconsidered," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 234–236, argues that the material from the Chatby cemetery at Alexandria should date considerably later than ca. 331.

73. Garlan, "Koukos," 249–250.

74. Garlan, "En visitant et revisitant," 325; Michel Debidour, "Etudier le commerce des amphores thasiennes: quelques remarques à propos des trouvailles autour du Pont-Euxin (IV^{e}-II^{e} s. av. J.-C.)," in *Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea*, vol. 2, *Acts of the International Round Table held in Kiten, Nessebar and Sredetz, September 26–30, 2007*, ed. Chavdar Tzochev, Totko Stoyanov and Anelia Bozkova (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, National Archaeological Institute with Museum, 2011), 50, places this name in a group dated between 278 and 271.

75. Garlan, "En visitant et revisitant," 326; Debidour, "Etudier le commerce des amphores thasiennes," 51, likewise places this eponym in the period ca. 245–234 BCE.

76. In the late third century barred sigmas appear very often between 229 and 214 BCE. Nearer to Garlan's suggested date for Kadmos, Polyon (in a group between 258 and 249 BCE) is the only eponym to use both forms of sigma. In Garlan's sequence, Amphandros (in the period 281–273 BCE) is the last eponym before Koroni to use both letter forms.

77. On amphora finds at Gordion in the third century, see Lawall, "Pontic, Aegean and Levantine Amphoras at Gordion."

78. On major groups of stamps contributing to the Rhodian chronology, see Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, "Les timbres amphoriques grecs," 289–302; Grace, "Revisions," 196–198; Grace, "The Middle Stoa;" and Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et* révisée, especially pages 163–184.

79. Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et* révisée; cf. criticisms cited in Mark L. Lawall, "Archaeological Context and Aegean Amphora Chronologies: A Case Study of Hellenistic Ephesos," in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern*

Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, 26–29 September, 2002, ed. Jonas Eiring and John Lund (Athens: Danish Institute at Athens, 2004), 185, n. 75; and Mark L. Lawall, "Negotiating Chronologies: Aegean Amphora Research, Thasian Chronology, and Pnyx III," in *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period c. 400–100 B.C.*, ed. Vladimir F. Stolba and Lise Hannestad (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2006), 59, n. 43.

80. Homer A. Thompson and Robert L. Scranton, "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx," *Hesperia* 12 (1943): 333–337; Virginia R. Grace, "Stamped Wine Jar Fragments," in *Small Objects from the Pnyx* 2, ed. Lucy Talcott (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1956), 141, no. 70; Grace, "Notes on the Amphoras," 324, with n. 11; and 328; Grace, "Revisions," 98, n. 19. The stamp reads Ἀγο[ίου though the rho is poorly preserved.

81. David G. Romano, "The Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykurgos: A Re-Examination of the Facilities on the Pnyx Hill," *AJA* 89 (1985): 453.

82. Paus. 1:26.1–2; for recent discussion of this episode, see Oliver, *War, Food, and Politics*, 122–123.

83. Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée*, 184; further on the fit between Finkielsztejn's chronology and the evidence from Koroni, see Nathan Badoud, "Remarques sur la chronologie des eponyms amphoriques rhodiens," *Revue des études anciennes* 105 (2003): 584–585.

84. Christian Habicht, "Rhodian Amphora Stamps and Rhodian Eponyms," *Revue des études anciennes* 105 (2003): 563.

85. Habicht, "Rhodian Amphora Stamps," 563.

86. *IG* 2^2.665; see discussion in Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 110-112 where he also seeks to associate *IG* 2^2.666 and *IG* 2^2.667 honoring Strombichos with activity on the Mouseion hill in the same year; cf. Stephen V. Tracy, "A Fragmentary Inscription from the Athenian Agora Praising Ephebes," *Hesperia* 59 (1990): 545, n. 9. Another episode of activity on the Mouseion hill during the Chremonidean War is discussed by Tracy, "Fragmentary Inscription."

87. Virginia R. Grace, "Some Amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck," in *Recherches sur les amphores grecques: actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique, l'Université de Rennes II et l'École française d'Athènes: Athènes, 10–12 septembre 1984*, ed. Jean-Yves Empereur and Yvon Garlan (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1986), 551-565; Carolyn G. Koehler and Malcolm B. Wallace, "Appendix: The Transport Amphoras: Description and Capacities," in "The Hellenistic Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey: Preliminary Report," by Cemal Pulak and Rhys F. Townsend, *AJA* 91 (1987): 43-49; Garlan, "En visitant et revisitant," 325.

88. Virginia R. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931–1932," *Hesperia* 3 (1934): no. 247 (=SS255) with reference to SS1393; see too Grace, "Notes on the Amphoras," 321, with reference to Albert Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1871), no. 160.

89. O'Neil, "Re-Examination," 68–71; Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 101-110; Frank W. Walbank, "Macedonia and Greece," in *Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 7.1, *The Hellenistic World*, ed. Frank W. Walbank et al. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 236–239 (though ending the war in 262/1 instead of 263/2); cf. Dreyer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen*; and Gabbert, "The Anarchic Dating of the Chremonidean War,"

230-235. Graham Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander, 323-30 B.C.* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 125–127 (offering various possible dates, but seeming to prefer those listed here), and Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 147 (268–262/261 BCE); Gary Reger, review of *Antigonus II Gonatas. A Political Biography*, by Janice J. Gabbert, *BMCR* 1998.10.17 http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/1998/1998-10-17.html; Joseph B. Scholten, *The Politics of Plunder: Aitolians and their Koinon in the Early Hellenistic Era, 27–217 B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 71.

90. *IG* 2^2.686 and *IG* 2^2.687 describe the alliance against Antigonos, who is never named explicitly; for discussion of the decree, see Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 117–142.

91. For the Epichares inscription from Rhamnous (*SEG* 40:135), see Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 152–159 for text and discussion; and Denis Knoepfler, "Les kryptoi du stratège Épicharès."

92. Knoepfler, "Les relations des cites eubéennes," 336–341; cf. Reger, "Athens and Tenos," 377 suggesting more conservatively an attack before ca. 265 BCE

93. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 182–189; Knoepfler, "Les relations des cites eubéennes," 159, 'note additionelle'; Reger, Review of *Antigonus II Gonatas,* by Gabbert.

94. For the Epichares inscription from Rhamnous (*SEG* 40:135) see above, note 91.

95. Nico Kruit and Klaas A. Worp, "Geographical Jar Names. Towards a Multi-Disciplinary Approach," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 46 (2000): 65–146, assemble and discuss a rich collection of papyrological evidence for the diversity of goods shipped in amphoras; see too Mark L. Lawall, "Amphoras and Hellenistic Economies: Addressing the (Over)Emphasis on Stamped Amphora Handles," in *Making, Moving, and Managing: The New World of Ancient Economies, 323–31 B.C.* ed. Zofia H. Archibald, John K. Davies, and Vincent Gabrielsen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 191, for references and discussion.

96. As noted above (n. 7), see Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp," 38; McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*," 12.

97. Peña, *Roman Pottery*.

98. Philippe Rodriguez, "L'intervention ptolémaïque dans la guerre de Chrémonidès au vu du monnayage lagide," *Revue Numismatique* (2000): 17–34.

99. Rodriguez, "L'intervention ptolémaïque."

100. Schmid, "Early Hellenistic Pottery," 362.

101. Knoepfler, "Les relations des cites eubéennes," 340.

102. Ephesos, see Lawall, "Amphoras and Hellenistic Economies," 205–207; Kaunos, see Hans-Dieter Bader, "Mengenanalyse der hellenistischen Keramik der sog. Tempelterrasse, Kaunos, Südwest-Türkei" (Ph.D. dissertation, Philipps-Universität, Marburg, 1993).

103. The amphora assemblage from this wreck has rarely been illustrated, but see Michael Katzev, "Cyprus Ship Discovery," *Illustrated London News*, July 1974, 72; Mark L. Lawall, "Early Hellenistic Amphoras from Two Closed Contexts: Kerynia Shipwreck and Ephesos Well LB," in *Z' Επιστημονική συνάντηση για*

την ελληνισκική κεραμική, Αίγιο 4-9 Απριλίου 2005, ed. Stella Drougou (Athens: Ekdosē tou Tameiou Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn, 2011), 673–682.

104. The wreck is not published; however I reported on the amphora finds at the Aigio conference on Hellenistic pottery in 2005 and hope to publish the material in the not too distant future.

105. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistische Geschichte*, 142–152.

106. Noel Robertson, "The Decree of Themistocles in its Contemporary Setting," *Phoenix* 36 (1982): 21.

107. On the amphora trade between the Aegean and western Mediterranean, see Lawall, "Consuming the West in the East."

9

Drinking Cups and the Symposium at Athens in the Archaic and Classical Periods

Kathleen M. Lynch

It is generally assumed that the potters and painters of Athens produced much of black-figured and red-figured pottery for use in formal drinking contexts, *symposia*.[1] Typical figured forms—kraters, kylikes, hydriai, amphorai—were designed to accommodate communal drinking party activities including mixing wine and water and the equitable consumption of wine. Over time, formal changes in shapes did occur, particularly among the drinking cups. The drinking cup, as the most personal of all the sympotic equipment and the piece most often to be broken and need to be replaced,[2] provides a barometer for the changing role of the symposium in Athenian culture. This paper presents the archaeological evidence for the development of sympotic cups at Athens from the Iron Age through the Late Classical Period. The focus will be on Athens since Attic pottery found in export contexts requires a different set of questions to understand its cultural use.[3] A diachronic view illustrates how variations in sympotic equipment could be tied to broader social changes in Athens and illuminates the ways in which material culture may reflect cultural change.[4]

General studies of Attic vases sometimes describe sympotic pottery without regard to chronology or context. The same is true with descriptions or definitions of the symposium, which often conflate chronological changes and geographic differences.[5] In other words, scholars present the symposium and its equipment as an ideal, which never existed in any one place or time.[6] Shape descriptions in pottery handbooks focus more on how the formal elements of the shape facilitate its functional use rather than on its social context of use, that is, they describe in what manner a

vase was used rather than in what context and by whom.[7] For example, a hydria has three handles, two horizontal and one vertical, so that it can be lifted, carried, and poured. Scholars often group figured hydriai with sympotic pottery on the assumption that they held the water to be mixed with wine in the krater. A closer look at archaeological evidence, however, reveals that the hydria is not a common form found in Athens, so it is unlikely that Attic sympotic sets featured figured hydriai.[8] In fact, Attic potters created other, seemingly sympotic shapes, exclusively for the export market—such as the Athenian-made Nikosthenic amphorai, which have a shape that emulates Etruscan bucchero amphorai.[9] Thus, the assumption that all figured shapes with an apparent sympotic function played that role in Athenian symposia must be re-evaluated. Athens, as the production site for Attic figured pottery and as the literary locus for much Classical sympotic literature, seems a natural place to start to understand the composition of the sympotic set. The next step in a larger study would be to identify the idiosyncratic components of sympotic sets at other sites and at different times. But such a study would need a baseline sense of sympotic cup use, and that is the purpose of this paper.

The Athenian Agora excavations provide a window into the world of ancient quotidian activity from the Neolithic era through the Turkokrateia. In the periods under investigation here, the Archaic and Classical, the commercial and political center of the city gained definition, and domestic districts encircled that commercial heart. The Agora excavations include the environs of the Agora, thus excavations have also documented household architecture and material culture from the area surrounding the public space. The social status or economic level of these domestic areas is not fully clear. There is evidence that many of the Archaic and Classical houses in proximity to the Agora accommodated small scale manufacturing activities, including sculpting and shoemaking.[10] Therefore, we take the material culture associated with these households most frequently to be "middle class," as opposed to "upper class," although these are relative, not economically absolute, designations. Compounding the problem of identifying class or status from the material remains is that most metal objects did not get discarded and therefore do not appear in the archaeological record. One of the most troubling factors in the study of sympotic sets is the undeterminable role metalware must have played.[11] All scholars agree that we are missing some quantity of metalware, but there is disagreement as to how much and who used what there was. Was metalware exclusive to the elite? Could the middle class afford a piece or two? Or, most extreme, was pottery only used by the lowest classes?[12] Unfortunately, this is a conundrum that archaeology will not be able to solve. The present author has taken a middle ground: I assume that some households did use metal sympotic equipment; however, the abundance

of sympotic pottery preserved in contexts with household manufacturing installations assures us that the working class used pottery for many or most communal drinking activities. The issue is hard to resolve, and never satisfying. For the purpose of this paper, ceramic sympotic sets are treated as desirable household possessions.

SYMPOSIUM: A DEFINITION

The symposium was a communal drinking event attended by male invitees and occasional female entertainers.[13] The drinking took place at night, usually in a private home, and between seven to fourteen or so guests might attend. Civic and ritual symposia existed; this study will focus on private symposia only.[14] While some houses had an *andron*, a room that seems to be specially designed for hosting a symposium, one was not required. The drinking could take place in a multi-purpose room or even the household courtyard.[15] Couches, *klinai*, may be used, but mattresses could also be placed directly on the ground, especially when dining was outdoors. The couches or mattresses were arranged in a circle or a square, a configuration without a head or obvious positions of status.[16] Drinkers participated equally in events that might include singing, recitation of poetry, drinking games, or discussion. Distribution of wine also proceeded equally, with drinkers consuming "rounds" of wine so that drunkenness proceeded apace.[17] The limited role of food commensality distinguishes Greek culture from many other cultures in which communal dining formulates cultural definition and identity.[18] The focus was on drinking. The host could provide a meal, but it was not necessary, and there was a formal break between the dining and drinking. Drinkers might even have brought their own snacks or drinking cups, but the host was responsible for providing the wine and any hired entertainment. The group might have appointed a *symposiarch* from among the participants, and this person would set the strength of the wine and topic of discussion, although it is not clear that every symposium had a *symposiarch*.[19]

Within Greek culture, and especially in Athens, the symposium provided a context for re-affirmation of cultural identity.[20] The topics discussed, the type of entertainment provided, and even the imagery on figured sympotic pottery reinforced normative cultural behaviors or provided a regulated release from these expectations.[21] The arena of the symposium, in this way, can be seen as a microcosm of the Attic polis.[22] The small group also promoted social bonds among men that would carry over into the world of politics and business. "Wine, my boy, and truth," a fragment of Alcaeus proclaims (frag. 366); and anthropologists have explored the complex role of wine, a "social lubricant," in the formation

of kith bonds.[23] A theme in Theognis' sympotic poems intimates that loose tongues at the symposium can also be harmful.[24]

Two cultural principles shaped the ritual of the symposium and thus the vessels needed to serve it: wine must be mixed with water as a mark of civilized society, and wine must be drunk communally and equitably.[25] Thus, the sympotic set can be broken down into primary functional categories: storage, mixing, serving, drinking. These functions stay the same throughout time, but the vessels used to facilitate them change over time. The krater may be the *sine qua non* of the symposium, but the drinking cup is the most personal object within the set with each participant either being assigned a cup or bringing his own. T.B.L. Webster's theory that many of the figured vases were commissioned and customized for individual symposium participants is probably an extreme view, but kylix feet found in the Agora excavations often receive scratched, handwritten graffiti. These usually take the form of single or double letter abbreviations, presumably of the owner's name or a similar identifier.[26] As the most frequently handled of all sympotic equipment, cups also enter the archaeological record more readily. In the detailed study below, number, shape, and style of drinking cups will be used to assess the meaning of the symposium in Athenian culture and the meaning of participation in the symposium for individual Athenians.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

The symposium in the late eighth to early sixth centuries BCE seems to be the province of the elite, or at least, not to have been practiced by large numbers of Athenians.[27] The origin of the symposium is debated, but most scholars see its evolution as Homeric hospitality—actual or imagined—combined with imported Near Eastern emphasis on drinking over food consumption.[28] With the eastern influence came the practice of reclining and an emphasis on entertainment, and Greek sympotic literature of the period does focus on the pleasurable interests and travails of the elite.[29] In the early Archaic period, the symposium probably allowed political factions of elites to consolidate their power and set themselves apart from the population at large. Although a group drinking activity, the symposium was also diacritical in that only a small group could participate in the activity. To be included was a way to declare your status as a member of a particular group or faction.[30]

The components of the symposium set can already be found in the Geometric period, or late eighth century BCE. The status conveyed by the ability to sponsor communal drinking events results in the extravagant

Dipylon grave markers, which take the form of mixing bowls (kraters), amphorai, and oinochoai.[31]

Discussion of the social function of Greek Iron Age pottery is hampered by the predominance of examples recovered from funerary contexts, either as offerings deposited with the dead or gifts dedicated after use by mourners. The Agora excavations, however, have recovered both graves and wells, and the latter confirm the domestic roles of many forms.[32] Drinking cups of the eighth and seventh century BCE include skyphoi, kotylai (a variation of a skyphos), kantharoi (with two high-swung handles), and one-handled cups (Figure 9.1).[33] Drinking cup shapes, surprisingly, have lost the stems they inherited from their Late Helladic ancestors, although they will re-grow them with time. For example, the "Cup of Nestor," with its famous late eighth-century BCE inscription, is a skyphos with a low base and two horizontal handles. Scholars connect it plausibly to use in a symposium.[34] Already we can observe that potters created some shapes for intended use in a communal drinking activity with features identifiable in the practice of later symposia. Kraters and mixing bowls, amphorai, and oinochoai were recovered from domestic well deposits in the Agora. Hydriai, on the other hand, are few and may be more exclusively associated with funerary or ritual contexts.[35] As for drinking cups, with the possible exception of the Geometric kantharos, they were probably not made for the exclusive purpose of drinking wine, as will be true for many multi-purpose Archaic and Classical drinking cups. It is, of course, entirely possible and probable that any open form could hold any liquid, including wine, but the *primary* purpose for which the potter designed the vessel to be used may not necessarily have been

Figure 9.1. Geometric Pottery from the grave of a young man (deposit D 16:4). From left: goblet (P 20179), oinochoe (P 20178), mug (P 20181), and kantharos (P 20180). Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations.

for the consumption of wine.[36] The formal similarity of the eighth-century kantharos with its later Classical descendants, which were primarily associated with wine, may argue a more exclusive wine-drinking function for it. The kantharos carried by Dinoysos as an attribute in Archaic and Classical iconography may even evoke a nostalgic form harkening back to earlier forms.[37]

After the turn of the sixth century BCE, a period of rapid development in sympotic cups began. This period coincided with Athens' rising political power and its rising dominance in the ceramic market. In the area around the Classical Agora, until about 525 BCE, the number of wine drinking vessels remained small, but the vessels were usually of high quality. Early in the century Attic potters borrowed drinking cup shapes and black-figured imagery from Corinth and Ionia but modified the style and forms to create an Attic ceramic aesthetic. The beginning of black-figured pottery production in Athens was a true moment of innovation according to the definitions presented by theoretical archaeologists and anthropologists. A new idea enters a culture and exercises an influence over the culture that was not present before. Thus, the kylix form was new, and it was exclusively aligned with and symbolic of the practice of the symposium. A successful innovation requires early adopters or "opinion leaders," and often the acceptance of the new presents an opportunity for these trendsetters to express status through material culture.[38]

The earliest cup form produced in Attica was the low stemmed Komast cup (Figure 9.2 upper).[39] As with other forms, Attic potters quickly introduced refinements to the imported cup forms, which soon evolved well beyond their models. At this point in time, a preference was established for stemmed wine-drinking cups, often referred to generically as kylikes. Scholars use the term "cup" in ceramic studies to refer to a stemmed drinking vessel with broad bowl and two horizontal handles, thus not including skyphoi, kantharoi, one-handlers, *et alia*. The term "kylix" often appears as an equivalent to "cup."

The stemmed form seems to be preferred for drinking while reclining. Painters most frequently depicted kylikes in symposium or *komos* (the post-symposium revel) scenes, although symposiasts are seen holding other shapes, including skyphoi. The drinkers do not grab the cup by the stem as we do a modern wine glass, but rather the height of the cup would allow the drinker to set it down easily upon a low table in front of his kline. Painters show drinkers grasping the foot of the cup in their palms or with fingers wrapped over the rim and upper bowl, and only occasionally by the handles.

During the period of 575–525 BCE, Attic potters modified formal details of kylikes so rapidly that some forms were only in fashion for a few decades. Roughly in order of appearance of production are: Komast

Figure 9.2. Upper: Unfigured version of Komast Cups known as the Class of Athens 1104 (P 24973); lower: Black-figured Siana Cup (P 20716).
Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations.

cups, Siana cups, Gordion cups, Lip cups, Band cups, Droop cups, Merry-thought cups, Cassel cups, and Type A (and Sub-A) cups. At any one time, Attic potters were producing several versions of kylikes.[40] Of these, the Gordion cup, for example, had a very brief floruit of maybe a decade. Its small size and delicate nature may have made it an impractical development. Only the Type A cup continued into the early fifth century BCE. The area around the Classical Agora provides evidence for most of these forms, although there are no Gordion cups or Merry-thought cups preserved from the excavations. Variety and quality were high in this period, but the quantity of black-figured kylikes is low. For example, there are approximately thirty-one Siana cups (Figure 9.2 lower) and four Droop cups from the Agora Excavations.[41]

In addition to black-figured kylikes, Attic potters also begin to make plain black-glazed versions of the shape at this time, although not in great numbers. Black-glazed kylikes in the mid-sixth century parallel the formal development of figured versions so that the most abundant undecorated cup, the Class of Athens 1104, takes its cues from Komast and Siana cups (Figures 9.2 upper and 9.2 lower).[42] In addition, Band cups and Droop cups, usually decorated in black-figure, occasionally appear in black-glaze.[43] The plain black-glazed versions of the kylikes were most likely complements to the figured versions. It is tempting to see the

plain versions of kylikes as down-market, cheaper versions of their black-figured siblings, which might, in turn, suggest emulation of elite material on the part of lower classes. However, as the more abundant evidence for the late Archaic period will show, it is more likely that symposiasts used the black-glazed forms side-by-side with the figured. Potting details indicate that the same potter often produced both figured and plain versions. Nevertheless, the kylix may have been a symbol of the symposium, but it was not the most popular type of drinking cup in the sixth century: the plain black Corinthian-Type skyphos, which, unlike the kylix, is not used exclusively for drinking wine far outstripped the kylix in popularity (Figure 9.3).[44] The low number of kylikes in comparison to the large number of multiple use skyphoi argues for a small population practicing formal symposia.

The rapid changes in sixth-century BCE kylix forms beg an explanation. The fields of material culture studies, sociology, and economics have variously addressed the question of why things change. It is not likely that any of the characteristics anthropologists typically cite as causes for stylistic innovation and change—population change, new technologies, stylistic drift, loss of visual models—can account for the situation in mid-sixth century BCE Athens. Similarly, Bourdieu's (1984) model of change in cultural taste is predicated on imitation driving innovation.[45] As the masses imitate elite goods or behavior, the elite modify their behavior to retain their distinction. In the case of sixth-century BCE kylikes, the

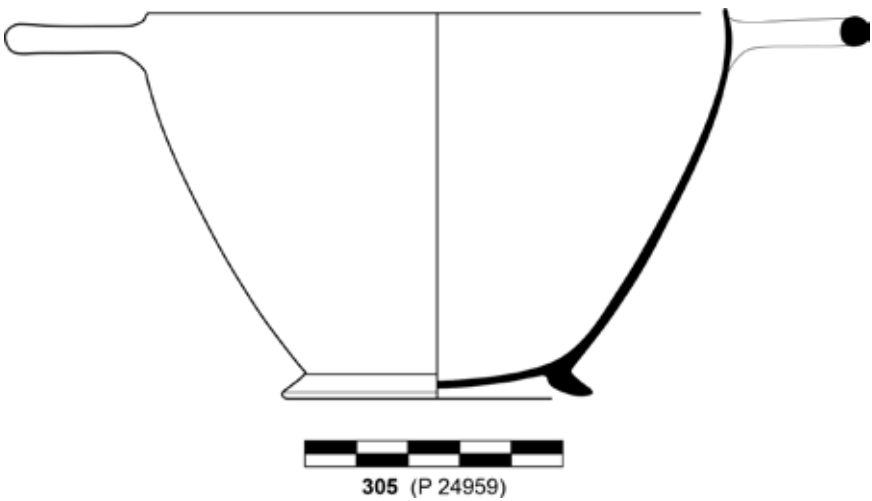


Figure 9.3. Profile of Corinthian-type skyphos of ca. 575-550 BCE P 24959.
Drawing K. Lynch, after Agora 12, fig. 4, no. 305.

small overall number produced argues against mass imitation driving the change.[46]

Both consumers and producers can motivate change, but distinguishing which is responsible is not always straightforward for the ancient world. All agree that consumers make some choices based on more than need and availability; that is, they choose some objects with symbolic meaning that extends beyond functionality. Sociologists introduced the idea of a "culture market," complementary to economic markets, in which participants compete for desirable cultural capital goods and activities that define the participant as superior.[47] A further development of this theory acknowledges that like the economic markets, cultural markets have a supply and demand side (producers and consumers).[48] In the case of sixth-century kylikes, on the one hand, the subtle formal changes may be generated on behalf of social groups attempting to distinguish themselves both from the majority and from each other. For the users of the kylikes, the overall similarity of the cups may have held symbolic value uniting the greater community of symposium-participants, while the variations in the form and decoration might have distinguished factional groups or social cliques within the symposium-participants (hypothetically for example, the Cassell cup group from the Merry-thought cup group).[49] In this way, material culture projects group cohesion, and in the case of mid-sixth century Athens, the elites may have been seeking cohesion and definition in the face of factional threats from their peers or populist movements. The latter could include the policies of Peisistratos. This hypothesis underscores how the symposium may have been used by aristocratic factions, whose political machinations are better known from the literary record. Rapid change in kylix form, then, may be an archaeologically visible material culture marker of this tension. The symposium was a politically charged environment, whether intentional or not.[50]

On the other hand, the potters themselves may have been the source of the competition as they explored and tested the limits of Attic clay and the black-figured style. The painters and potters of black-figured kylikes in this generation may be expressing inter- and intra-workshop competition as their descendants, the red-figure pioneers, did.[51] At this time, there seems to have been a handful of pottery workshops active in Athens, but in reality, we know very little about the organization of the pottery industry at Athens. If we accept the connoisseurship studies of Sir John Beazley (*ABV*, *ARV*^{2}) as an indicator, the number of distinguishable painters' hands increased towards 500 BCE. It is possible that increasing populations of craftsmen generated more inter- and intra-workshop competition that drove change in forms and decoration. But without willing consumers, these developments would have had no purpose; that is, if we presume that an economic market is at work, then the potters wanted to

sell their goods and would not have made changes to undermine their income.[52] The difference is that consumers in this second model are accepting the developments because possessing what is newest is equated with knowledge and status. They are similar to the early adopters discussed above. A modern analogy might be an individual who distinguishes himself by owning a painting by a contemporary artist. The consumer does not drive the stylistic change in this model.

Any explanation for the rapid changes must take into consideration the cultural use of the objects, that is, where the cultural assets would have been deployed. The small number of kylikes speaks of limited participation in sympotic activities: most likely restricted to the elite who used the symposium as an arena for self-definition. The first three-quarters of the sixth-century BCE are well-represented within the Athenian Agora excavations, so the small number of kylikes cannot be attributed to poor data or lack of appropriate archaeological contexts. The variety of forms speaks to a need to distinguish oneself or one's group. Neer describes the later sixth-century BCE vases with images of eastern excess, referred to as the "Anakreontic" vases, as "produced under the Peisistratids and the Kleisthenic democracy—precisely the time at which the luxury-loving elite was at its weakest politically. The pictures seem to be compensating for the failings of political reality."[53] Neer makes the point that material and visual cultural can be a mask for underlying tensions. In his case, the imagery belies the confusion of the disenfranchised elite, who seem to proclaim by their imagery and behavior that they are still relevant. Similarly, our slightly earlier parade of subtly different kylix shapes may be an attempt to appear new and fresh during times of change or aristocratic tension—be it between peers or the rise of populist movements. In addition, the parallel mid-sixth-century BCE fashion for new poetic forms related to the symposium might mean that the consumers—that is, the symposium participants—did pay attention to "fashion" and demanded similarly trendy forms in their pottery.[54] The primary audience for the messages formed by the cultural capital may be twofold: the masses and other elites. The symposium played both a diacritical function ("elites are different/superior"), while the differentiation of kylix forms may reflect in-group competition in the face of diminishing political power.

LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD

During the last quarter of the sixth century BCE the amount of sympotic pottery found in the domestic areas around the area of the Classical Agora increases dramatically. This increase in the material culture of the symposium must represent an increase in the number of men participat-

ing in the symposium. Elsewhere, I have suggested that it is possible that the rise in sympotic activity coincides with the democratic reforms.[55] The early days of democracy were marked by a readjustment of the social order. The elites had to contend with winning over the masses, who were now, to some degree, their political equals but social inequals. In contrast to earlier phases of the Archaic period and the Iron Age before it, the symposium was probably no longer the province of the elite alone at this point.[56] Household deposits surrounding the Classical Agora contain evidence of communal drinking suggesting that the practice had spread to the non-elites.

The period of 525–480 BCE, usually considered the "late Archaic Period," provides the best evidence for communal drinking from the excavations of the Athenian Agora. In 479 BCE the Persians sacked the city of Athens during the second Persian War leaving behind destroyed private and public buildings, the clean-up of which provides us with a horizon of material culture representing life in the decades preceding the war. Of particular interest are the household clean-up deposits that give us a sense of the contents of a household's cupboard. There are twenty-two excavated, closed deposits with Persian destruction debris from the Athenian Agora.[57]

The picture presented by Table 9.1 and Figures 9.4a and 9.4b describes, generally, the character of the late Archaic sympotic set. The counts are taken from an article by T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits," *Hesperia* 62 (1993): 383-482, and numbers do not represent a statistical "minimum number of vessels" (MNV). Rather, Shear explains that for eleven deposits, only the inventoried objects were counted.[58] Thus, Shear's numbers are generally lower than "MNV" calculations, which would also consider the uninventoried context pottery, although he does consider every inventoried example to be a separate vessel, regardless of preservation. Thus, we must not take the statistics presented here too literally but rather as an impression of the evidence. More will be said of other potential distortions below.

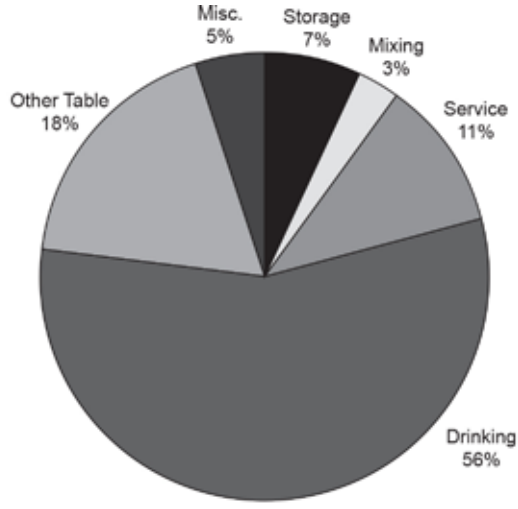
In Table 9.1 and Figure 9.4a, the fine ware from the Persian destruction deposits is divided into functional categories. Among the fine ware, storage vessels included amphorai, pelikai, and the rare occurrence of hydriai. The pelikai were predominantly black-glazed, and the only hydriai present were black-figured. The wine mixing bowl of choice was a krater, usually a column krater, which occurred in black-figure, black-glaze, and red-figure in decreasing numbers. Serving vessels included oinochoai and olpai, but realistically only the former held wine. It is often assumed that sympotic sets contained only finewares, but the small numbers of figured hydriai and serving vessels suggest that this assumption may be wrong on two fronts. First, as mentioned above, there is a theory that many

Table 9.1. Fineware Vessels by Function in Persian Destruction Debris Deposits from the Athenian Agora

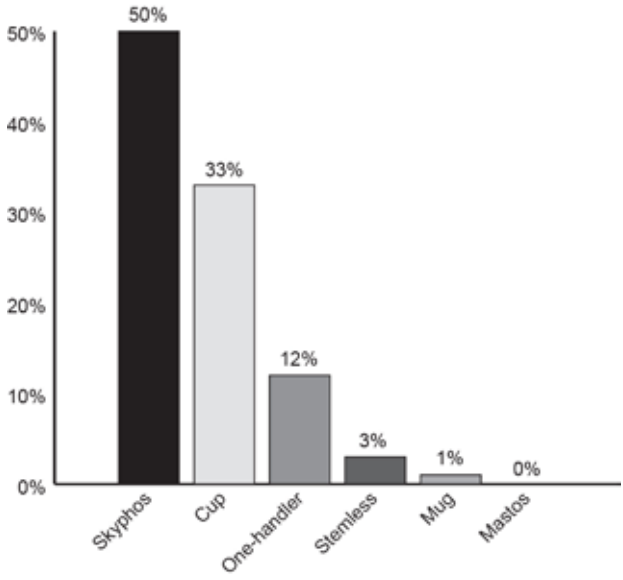
	Black-Figure	*Black-Glaze*	*Red-Figure*	*TOTAL*	*% of total*
Storage					
Amphora + Lid	48	22	2	**72**	
Pelike	6	47	4	**57**	
Psykter	1	26	0	**27**	
Hydria	14	0	0	**14**	
Loutrophoros	2	0	0	**2**	
				172	*6%*
Mixing					
Krater	37	16	11	**64**	
Dinos	2	0	0	**2**	
Louterion	2	0	0	**2**	
Bowl	0	12	1	**13**	
Stand	6	0	0	**6**	
				87	*3%*
Service					
Oinochoe	28	78	2	**108**	
Olpe	11	95	0	**106**	
Round Mouth Oinochoe	0	85	0	**85**	
				299	*11%*
Drinking					
Skyphos	193	359	4	**556**	
Cup	89	323	81	**493**	
Cup-skyphos	0	195	1	**196**	
One-handler	0	183	0	**183**	
Stemless	0	46	1	**47**	
Mug	0	19	1	**20**	
Mastos	1	0	0	**1**	
				1496	*56%*
Other Table Ware					
Lekythos[a]	149	36	3	**188**	
Stemmed Dish	0	125	0	**125**	
Salt Cellar	0	82	0	**82**	
Lekanis + Lid	10	67	0	**77**	
				472	*18%*
Miscellaneous					
Plate	5	44	1	**50**	
Phiale	19	12	0	**31**	
Pyxis + Lid	6	13	0	**19**	
Thurible	1	18	0	**19**	
Lebes Gamikos	3	0	0	**3**	
Kothon	3	0	0	**3**	
Plaque	2	0	0	**2**	
				127	*5%*
TOTALS	**638**	**1903**	**112**	**2653**	

Source: Data from T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits." Hesperia 62 (1993): 383-482. For its limitations, see discussion.

[a]BF lekythoi: SGW (Q 12:3) and RRCS (G 6:3) not included in number



a



b

Figure 9.4. Statistical analysis of fineware vessels from Persian destruction deposits. a) Graph of fineware vessels grouped by functional categories and expressed as percentages of the sum of all deposits. b) Graph of fineware cups by form expressed as percentage of all drinking vessels.

Data from T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits," Hesperia 62 (1993): 383-482.

Athenians used metalware instead of ceramics. If true, the absence of metalware in the archaeological record may skew our view of the ancient sympotic set; however, I would expect far *fewer* ceramic cups if the use of metal ware were prevalent in the households of late Archaic Athens. Metalware cups should be among the least expensive of metal sympotic vessels, so I would expect a homeowner to own a metal cup before he owned a metal krater. Therefore, since we see an increase in the number of ceramic cups during the sixth century, I do not think the evidence is impacted by the presence of metalware. On the other front, the evidence does suggest that Athenians mixed fineware and "household" ware in their sympotic set. The absence of fineware hydriai may be explained by the abundance of household coarse ware ("cooking ware") hydriai, which were infrequently entered into the excavation inventory.[59] Since water was as essential as wine in the symposium, it is likely that plainer wares functioned alongside the figured wares in the symposia of regular Athenians.

The largest functional category in the late Archaic finewares is drinking vessels making up a full 56 percent of the assemblage (Table 9.1, Figure 9.4a). Within the category of drinking vessels, there are several types of drinking cups. The overall number of drinking vessels is high in relationship to mixing and service vessels. In fact, if all mixing and drinking vessels are counted, there are roughly seventeen drinking to each mixing vessel. However, some of those drinking vessels are unlikely to have been used at a symposium. Eliminating the multi-purpose one-handlers brings the number down to 15 : 1, and limiting the drinking vessels to kylikes gives roughly 6 : 1, but this is an unrealistic figure since we know that the black-figured skyphoi, many with Dionysiac imagery, were probably used in symposia; thus, a figure around ten cups to every mixing bowl/krater seems best. In figured ware, the kylix is the most popular drinking cup form at this time, but overall, in Figure 9.4b it can be seen that the largest component of the drinking vessel numbers is skyphoi: Attic-type skyphoi, cup-skyphoi, and Corinthian-type skyphoi, with plain, black-glazed skyphoi about one and a half times more common than the figured versions.

The picture changes reassuringly little when we consider a Persian destruction deposit that has been fully retained and studied, well J 2:4.[60] The fineware pottery owned by the house associated with well J 2:4 is shown in Table 9.2 and Figures 9.5a and 9.5b. Again, the fineware drinking shapes account for the largest component of the assemblage at 40 percent (Figure 9.5a). Deposit J 2:4 conforms to the pattern of the earlier excavated Persian destruction deposits: communal drinking shaped the material culture of the household. Notably absent from well J 2:4's household is a krater, although a large fineware bowl could have been used for mixing wine and water. The presence of kylikes insures that the house had a suit-

able mixing bowl available. It is, of course, possible that the krater did not get discarded in this deposit; it is possible that it survived the destruction, and its use continued. A krater would have been a larger investment than cups, so perhaps the homeowners were less willing to discard it. On the other hand, the krater could have been made of metal and looted by the Persians or kept in use because of its value in contrast to the ceramics. The krater's absence is perplexing, and without a mixing bowl we cannot look for the ratios of cups to mixing vessels as we did above. Nevertheless, one of the sets of drinking cups this house owned consisted of eight red-figured kylikes and eight plain, black-glazed kylikes (Type C), perhaps giving us a drinking group of eleven–sixteen profiles indicating that they were made by the same potters and purchased at the same time, but decorated in different techniques. Thus, it seems likely that cups of both styles would be used together on the same occasion.

The category "Other Table" consists of forms for the table including vessels such as stemmed dishes and salt cellars that could have had a role in the symposium as well. If so, then over half the house's fineware (60 percent) was designed for use in the symposium. For example, black-figured lekythoi appear in twenty-one of the twenty-two Persian destruction deposits confirming a domestic role for the form, which we most often associate with burial rites. The frequent Dionysiac imagery on the lekythoi also point plausibly to a sympotic context for their use. The number of lekythoi used in an Archaic house is difficult to determine because two of the Persian destruction deposits were pottery sales shops featuring large stocks of lekythoi and other black-figured shapes.[62] More typical deposits including M 17:4 and J 2:4 suggest that the households owned about three lekythoi of various sizes.[63] Stemmed dishes and small bowls might be used for snacks during the drinking. The diameter of these bowls is ca. 0.15 m at most, so the food volume is small. These forms are featured in contemporary late Archaic vase-painting scenes of drinking and occur in the deposit in roughly the ratio of one dish for every two kylikes, which may reflect their presence on shared tables. The olpai, mentioned above as a liquid serving vessel, more likely held vinegar or a similar condiment.

What is missing is also important: There are few shapes useful for eating, and none primarily designed for eating in contrast to the many forms primarily designed for drinking. Arguably, the skyphoi and cup-skyphoi could have held foodstuffs, and the one-handler is obviously a versatile form useful for holding foodstuffs, acting as a drinking vessel or even utility scoop as needed. Plates in this period are not for the serving of food, but rather they are more likely to be votive objects.[64] Also missing from the service category are ladles, kyathoi. Attic potters produced kyathoi for the Etruscan export market and few are found in Athens.[65] It is possible that houses owned metal ladles, as often seen held by the

Table 9.2. Fineware Vessels by Function in Well J 2:4 (Persian destruction deposit with all objects saved and counted)

	Black-Figure	*Black-Glaze*	*Red-Figure*	*TOTAL*	*% of total*
Storage					
Amphora + Lid	3	2	0	**5**	
Pelike	0	3	1	**4**	
Psykter	0	1	0	**1**	
Hydria	1	0	0	**1**	
Stamnos	1	0	0	**1**	
				12	*13%*
Mixing					
Krater	0	0	0	**0**	
Bowl	0	1	0	**1**	
				1	*1%*
Service					
Oinochoe	3	3	0	**6**	
Olpe	0	4	0	**4**	
Round Mouth Oinochoe	0	1	0	**1**	
				11	*12%*
Drinking					
Skyphos	1	2	0	**3**	
Cup	3	8	8	**19**	
Cup-skyphos	5	7	0	**12**	
One-handler	0	1	0	**1**	
Type B Cup	0	1	0	**1**	
				36	*40%*
Other Table Ware					
Lekythos	2	0	0	**2**	
Askos	0	1	0	**1**	
Stemmed Dish	0	6	0	**6**	
Salt Cellar	0	3	0	**3**	
Lekanis + Lid	0	2	0	**2**	
Covered Bowl	0	2	0	**2**	
Small Bowl	0	1	0	**1**	
Jug	0	1	0	**1**	
				18	*20%*
Miscellaneous					
Votive Miniatures	0	6	0	**6**	
Phiale	1	0	0	**1**	
Juglet	0	1	0	**1**	
Unguent Pot	0	1	0	**1**	
Stand	0	1	0	**1**	
Disc	0	1	0	**1**	
Ring	0	1	0	**1**	
				12	*13%*
TOTALS	**20**	**61**	**9**	**90**	

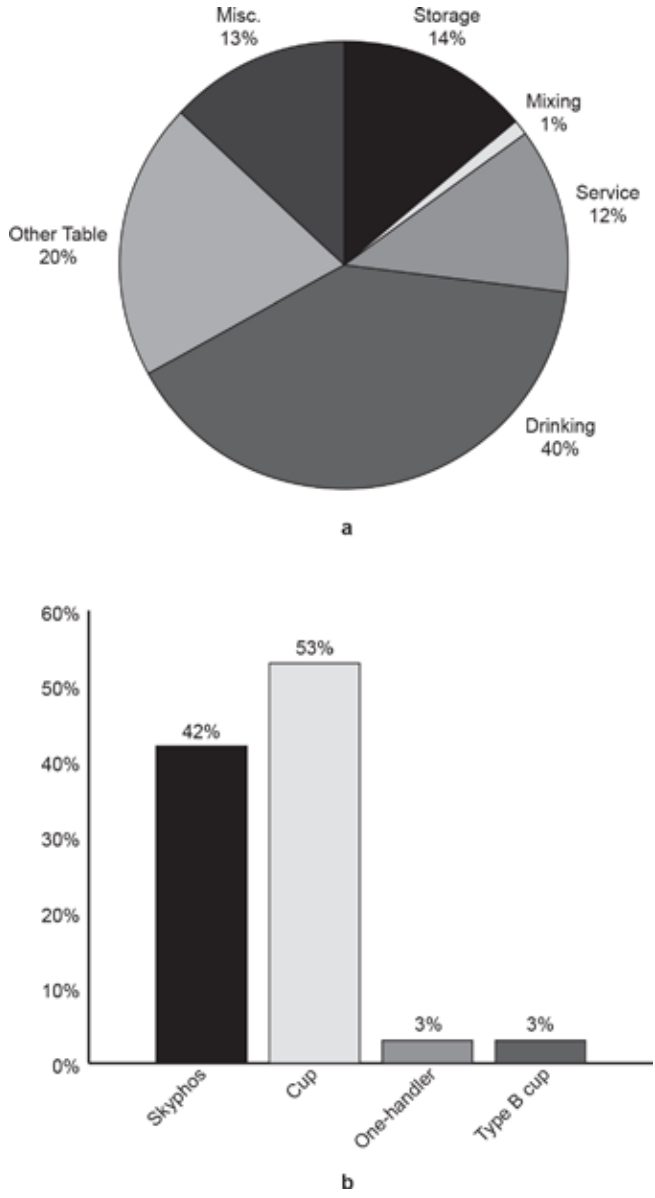


Figure 9.5. Statistical analysis of fineware vessels from deposit J 2:4. a) Graph of fineware vessels grouped by functional categories and expressed as percentages of the whole deposit. b) Graph of fineware drinking cups by form expressed as a percentage of all drinking vessels.

wine-boy in red-figured sympotic scenes,[66] but more likely an oinochoe was dipped into the krater and filled directly as seen on a red-figured cup by the Cage Painter.[67]

In contrast to the pattern we observed in the mid-sixth century BCE, the period of rapid change in kylix forms leveled off by the early fifth century BCE. By the late Archaic period the kylix had settled down into three main forms: Type A, Type B, and Type C.[68] Types B and C continued through the fifth century BCE without major changes other than a general attenuation of form. A division also occurred between figured and non-figured forms. For example, Type A was most likely to be black-figured; Type B, red-figured; and Type C, black-glazed. There are, of course, deviations from this rule, but potters and painters associated different formal details with figural style. This is true of skyphoi, too. Black-figured skyphoi featured different feet, rims, and overall proportions than their black-glazed brothers. As black-figure went out of fashion in the first quarter of the fifth century BCE, Type A cups disappeared. After the Persian Wars, plain black-glazed kylikes continued to be made for a few decades, with a few new forms introduced, including the Acrocup and the Vicup. Both of these forms seem to be modeled on metal shapes, and were short-lived.[69] Red-figured Type B kylikes continued, but their proportions grew increasingly attenuated, with the bowl flattening out and the stem getting taller.[70]

HIGH CLASSICAL PERIOD

The next period for which we have good archaeological evidence from the Athenian Agora excavations is associated with clean-up following a severe earthquake in Athens in 426 BCE. Thucydides (3.87.4; 3.89), describes the earthquake, which was strong enough to cause significant tidal waves and displace columns of the Parthenon.[71] This event resulted in the formation of a number of deposits of broken pottery. Like the Persian destruction deposits, the earthquake deposits offer a view of ceramic assemblages from the period. The use contexts, however, include households, civic dining, and possibly a commercial taverna. The following discussion examines five deposits, including the taverna (R 13:4), and compares them to the well-published study of the debris from a public dining place on the east side of the Athenian Agora (H 4:5).[72]

The overall picture of fineware types shows only small changes from the late Archaic picture (Table 9.3, Figures 9.6a and 9.6b). By this date black-figure had fallen out of fashion, but it is interesting to note that red-figure did not "take over" its role. For example, in the late Archaic period drinking vessels could be black-figured, red-figured, or plain

black-glazed, but by the third quarter of the fifth century BCE, the number of red-figured drinking cups had not gone up significantly although black-figured cups were no longer being produced. Red-figure cups made up 22 percent of the drinking vessels in the late Archaic J 2:4 deposit, but less than 1 percent of the Classical public dining deposit H 4:5, and there is only one red-figured cup, a glaux, from the five other Classical earthquake deposits. Attic potters and painters were producing great quantities of red-figure, but those vessels were not being used in Athens itself; rather, they were instead made for the export market. In contrast, H 4:5 has a surprising number of red-figured kraters, but Rotroff and Oakley explain that the kraters may have been gifts to the *syssitia* by individuals.[73]

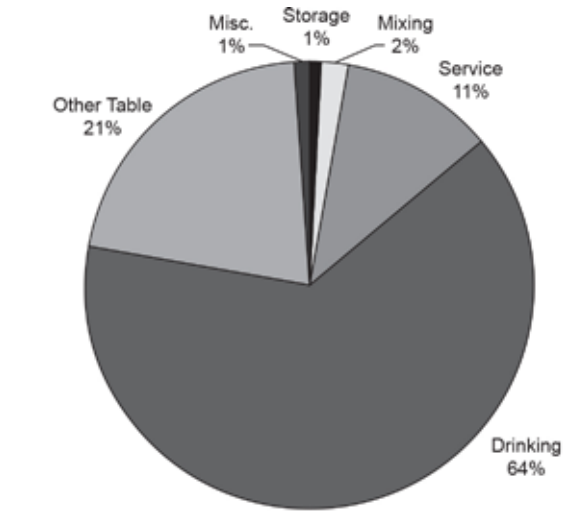
The sympotic set changed only slightly. The amphora, krater, and oinochoe remained, although in the same small proportions as in the late Archaic period. Drinking equipment continued to comprise the majority of finewares (64 percent). The drinking vessel shape of choice, on the other hand, begins to show more variability (Figure 9.6b).[74] Skyphoi—of both black-glaze and red-figure—continue to appear in great number (35 percent of all drinking vessels), but the importance of kylikes has diminished (5 percent of all drinking vessels). New shapes appeared including the stemless (17 percent of all drinking vessels) and the bolsal (7 percent of all drinking vessels).

The character of the large deposit H 4:5, the debris from a public dining place, is similar to the overall view of the earthquake deposits (Table 9.4, Figures 9.7a and 9.7b). The proportion of finewares for mixing may be slightly greater in H 4:5 than the others, but even with the large number of kraters (79), the deposit is so large that the impact of the kraters is small on the assemblage.[75]

New drinking vessel shapes follow the trend seen in the other earthquake deposits, including new forms of the stemless cup, cup-skyphos with light wall, and the bolsal (Figures 9.8a–9.8c). A "stemless" cup, that is the bowl of a kylix set upon a low ring foot, not a stemmed foot, existed but was less common in the late Archaic period.[76] During the first half of the fifth century BCE, it changed its character and evolved into several sub-types. The high Classical stemless cup was delicate. One of the subtypes, the Rheneia Cup, featured a very low, narrow, beveled ring foot (Figure 9.8a).[77] The "delicate class" is even more delicate and carefully finished with molded bands separated by fine ridges on the underside and walls one millimeter thick (Figure 9.8b).[78] Both types received, first, linear decoration incised under the glaze, and later stamped decoration under the glaze (Figure 9.9a). Another new form, the light wall cup-skyphos, was related to the stemlesses in form, decoration, and detail, although its bowls were deeper.[79] The final new form in the third quarter of the fifth century was the bolsal (Figure 9.8c), which similarly features delicately

Table 9.3. Fineware Vessels by Function in ca. 425 BCE Earthquake Deposits from the Athenian Agora Excavations. Includes pottery from Agora deposits F 5:3, F 14:2, E 13:1, M 18:8, R 13:4

	Black-Figure	*Black-Glaze*	*Red-Figure*	*TOTAL*	*% of total*
Storage					
Amphora + Lid	0	2	1	**3**	
				3	*1%*
Mixing					
Krater	0	2	1	**3**	
Bowl	0	3	0	**3**	
				6	*2%*
Service					
Oinochoe	0	10	1	**11**	
Olpe	0	18	0	**18**	
Mini-chous	0	1	0	**1**	
				30	*11%*
Drinking					
Skyphos	0	61	0	**61**	
Cup	0	9	0	**9**	
One-handler	0	40	0	**40**	
Stemless	0	30	0	**30**	
Mug	0	17	0	**17**	
Bolsal	0	12	0	**12**	
Kantharos (Sotadaean)	0	1	0	**1**	
Glaux	0	0	1	**1**	
Sub-Geo	0	2	0	**2**	
				173	*64%*
Other Table Ware					
Lekythos	1	13	4	**18**	
Salt Cellar	0	5	0	**5**	
Lekanis + Lid	0	8	0	**8**	
Globular Lekythos	0	6	0	**6**	
Askos	0	7	2	**9**	
Small bowl	0	10	0	**10**	
Large bowl	0	1	0	**1**	
				57	*21%*
Miscellaneous					
Plate	0	1	0	**1**	*0.4%*
TOTALS	**1**	**259**	**10**	**270**	



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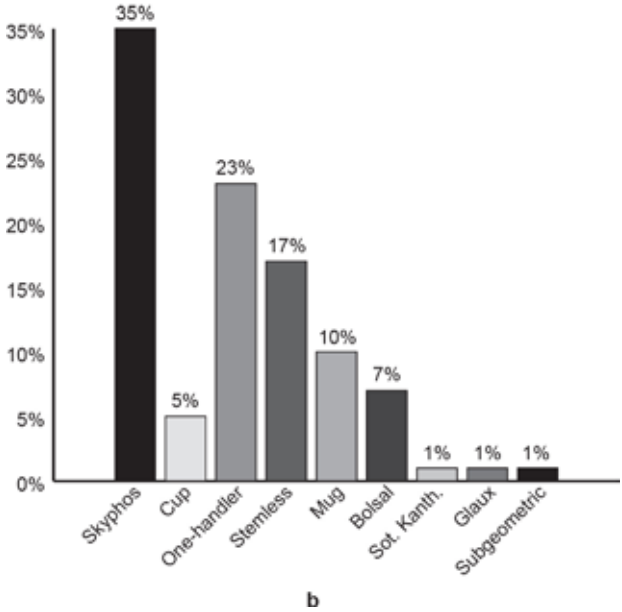


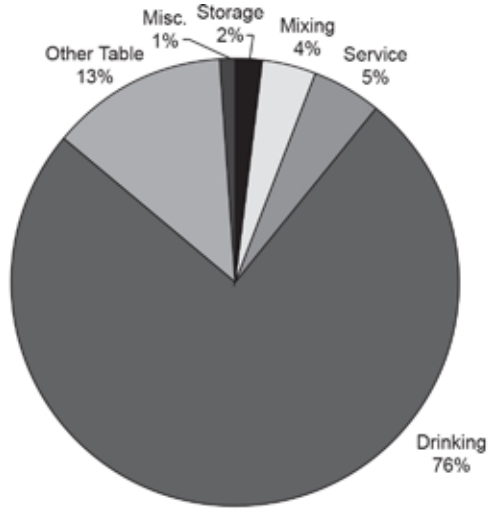
b

Figure 9.6. Statistical analysis of fineware vessels from ca. 425 BCE earthquake contexts. a) Graph of fineware vessels grouped by functional categories and expressed as percentages of the whole deposit. b) Graph of fineware drinking cups by form. Includes pottery from F 5:3, F 14:2, E 13:1, M 18:8, R 13:4.

Table 9.4. Fineware Vessels by Function in Deposit H 4:5, the "Debris from a Public Dining Place."

	Black-Figure	*Black-Glaze (MNV)*	*Red-Figure*	*TOTAL*	*% of total*
Storage					
Amphora	0	0	1	**1**	
Panathenaic Amphora	1	0	0	**1**	
Pelike	0	5	4	**9**	
Psykter	0	5	0	**5**	
Hydria	0	1	14	**15**	
Stamnos	0	0	1	**1**	
Loutrophoros	0	0	1	**1**	
Lebes Gamikos	0	0	1	**1**	
				34	*2%*
Mixing					
Krater	0	0	79	**79**	
				79	*4%*
Service					
Oinochoe	0	50	6	**56**	
Olpe	0	47	0	**47**	
				103	*5%*
Drinking					
Attic Skyphos	4	817	2	**823**	
Corinthian-Type Skyphos	0	234	4	**238**	
Cup-skyphos	8	0	0	**8**	
Cup	4	64	5	**73**	
One-handler	0	94	0	**94**	
Stemless	0	224	0	**224**	
Mug	0	13	3	**16**	
Bolsal	0	10	0	**10**	
Kantharos	0	0	2	**2**	
				1488	*76%*
Table Ware					
Lekythos	19	31	0	**50**	
Squat Lekythos	0	0	1	**1**	
Stemmed Dish	0	44	0	**44**	
Salt Cellar	0	95	0	**95**	
Lekanis	0	13	0	**13**	
Askos	0	30	1	**31**	
Plate	0	18	1	**19**	
				253	*13%*
Miscellaneous					
Phiale	0	1	0	**1**	
Pyxis	0	2	1	**3**	
Alabastron	0	0	1	**2**	
Feeder	0	1	0	**1**	
Disk	0	1	0	**1**	
Thurible	0	2	0	**2**	
				9	*1%*
TOTALS	**36**	**1802**	**128**	**1966**	

Source: Susan I. Rotroff and John H. Oakley, Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992).



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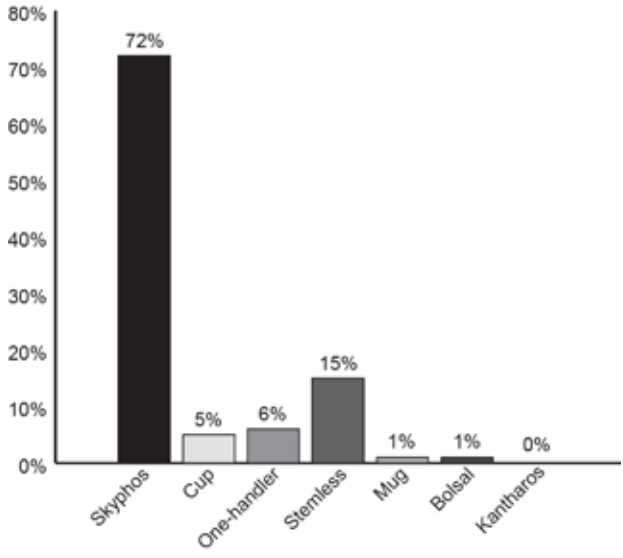

b

Figure 9.7. Statistical analysis of fineware vessels in deposit H 4:5, the "Debris from a Public Dining Place." a) Graph of fineware vessels grouped by functional categories and expressed as percentages of the whole deposit. b) Graph of fineware drinking cups by form.

Data from Susan I. Rotroff and John H. Oakley, Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992).

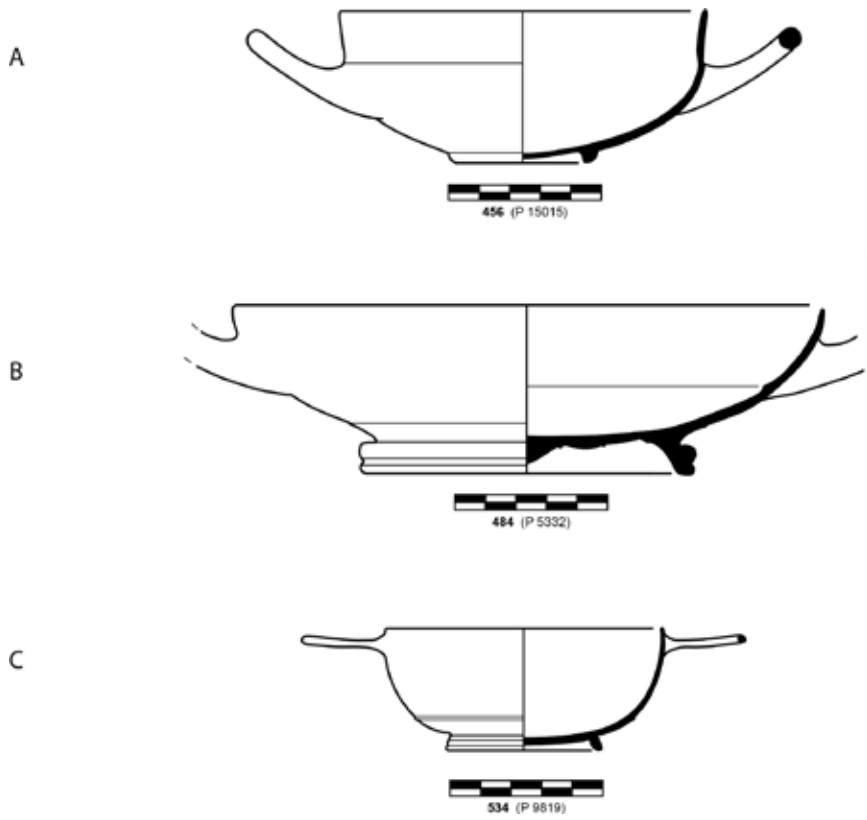

Figure 9.8. Representative fineware cups of the High Classical Period. a) Black-glazed Rheneia cup (stemless), P 15015; b) Black-glazed delicate class stemless, P 5332; c) Black-glazed Bolsal, P 9819.
Drawings, K. Lynch, after a) Agora 12, fig. 5, no. 456; b) Agora 12, fig. 5, no. 484; c) Agora 12, fig. 6, no. 534.

molded ring feet, thin walls, and stamped and incised decoration. It is clear from the delicate walls, fine molded details, and interior stamped and incised patterns that these ceramic vessels received their formal inspiration from metalwork. Contemporary silver vessels are few, but later silver stemlesses from the tombs at Vergina give us an impression of what earlier versions must have looked like.[80]

Important to note about these three new forms and their variants is that they are functional correlates for existing shapes. Function is not changing, but the form is expressing new concepts. In addition, most of these forms have no evolutionary precedents (although modern scholarly typology places them with similar earlier shapes). These forms then,

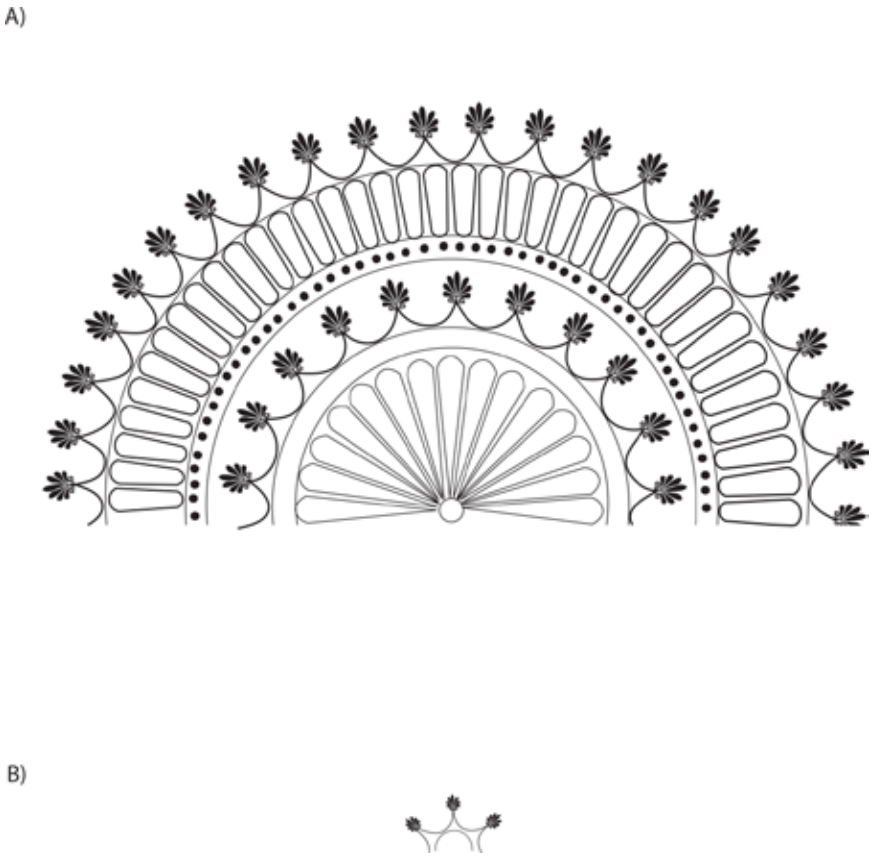

Figure 9.9. Representative incised and stamped decorations of the High Classical Period. a) Example of an incised and stamped pattern on a delicate class stemless; b) Example of a stamped pattern on the floor of a bolsal.
Drawings, K. Lynch, after a) Agora 12, pl. 50, no. 486; b) Agora 12, pl. 53, no. 549.

are innovations: introductions to the production of pottery inspired by outside sources just as the black-figured kylikes were in the early sixth century BCE.

The third and fourth quarters of the fifth century BCE generated a number of ceramic innovations that may be seen as fads, as few developed into long-lived styles or forms like the kylix. The kylix came into Athens in the early sixth century BCE, and its formal development in Attic production had been continuous. By the time of the ca. 425 earthquake, the kylix was nearing 200 years of existence. The same can be said about the skyphos, but as a more multi-functional form than the symposium-designed kylix, it was not as susceptible to fashions. The skyphos continued until the

mid-third century BCE, giving it a lifespan of approximately 750 years, possibly the longest of any fineware shape in Greek pottery.[81]

In addition to the formal innovations, several innovations in decoration also occurred. Similarly, experiments in decoration did not result in widespread adoption, but rather characterize this period as one of aesthetic restlessness. Two such blind alleys were the polychrome oinochoai all found in a single deposit and figural drawing under black-glaze.[82] This period of change was probably driven by different kinds of social forces than those that generated the rapid introduction of kylix forms in the mid-sixth century BCE. One possibility is that the altered social landscape of Athens during the Peloponnesian Wars and the plague resulted in a search for escape.[83] Artistic trends of the period, including the florid style of vase painting characterized by the Meidias Painter and in sculpture by the Temple of Athena Nike parapet reliefs, may have been a visual antidote to the struggles of the period. Similarly, the contemporary ceramic experiments that directly emulate metallic forms may also characterize a yearning for luxury that was at odds with daily conditions. Even in modern times, people cling to small luxuries in the face of economic despair.[84] It is also possible, of course, that elites were looking for more economical expressions of luxury in a time of emotional and financial strain.

Regardless of the motivation for the innovations of the second half of the fifth century, they were short-lived. The elaborate incised decoration and complicated stamping patterns become increasingly simplified so that by the turn of the century, most had been reduced to a minimum (Figure 9.9b). The carefully molded details of feet and undersides of cups also retreated to more simplified profiles. The decoration and shape details must have required too much time for the potter, and we can be confident in this case that the potter was the one driving the change.

LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

With the turn of the fourth century BCE, drinking vessel preference underwent one last change before the Hellenistic period. The first quarter of the fourth century BCE saw a rise in popularity of the kantharos at the expense of the new forms of the late fifth century. The kantharos shape, or a shape we have called the kantharos, had been around since the Iron Age, but the "Classical kantharos" form first appeared at ca. 400 BCE. Sparkes and Talcott trace its origin back to the less common, heavy wall, class of cup-skyphos, which it supplanted around 380 BCE.[85] The Classical kantharos was also inspired by metal forms. At its earliest appearance it resembles its metallic models most closely (Figure 9.10a). The earliest variant of the Classical kantharos is a cup-kantharos with delicate

high-swung handles. These handles are impractical in clay, whereas they create an elegant form in metal.[86] The appearance of this form coincided with the period of pseudo-luxury experimentation described above and overlapped the last years of the floruit of the stemlesses, cup-skyphoi, and bolsals. Like the stemlesses and bolsals, the shape of the Classical kantharos also changed to be easier on the potter. The cup handles were soon replaced by a more practical, sturdy spur-handle (Figure 9.10b).[87] The body remained the same, but the spur handle modified the aesthetic to create a less refined form. The molded rim was a form that makes some sense in metal: it is a flap of metal folded over from the body. In pottery the effect could be created in the same way: a flap of clay could be folded over producing a hollow core to the "molding" (Figure 9.10c). But potters adapted this feature to their own production methods, and the feature was more often a solid piece of clay molded to the projecting shape (Figure 9.10a–b). In contrast to the cup-handles, the molded rim improved the practicality of the vessel as it produced a stable, sturdy form; thus, the molded rim was adopted as a consistent feature.

During the first quarter of the fourth century, stemlesses, bolsals, skyphoi, and even a few kylikes were produced alongside the kantharoi. By around 375 BCE, the kantharos (both cup-kantharoi and those with spur handles) and the skyphos are the only two forms left. Red-figured vase painting parallels this shift. By 350 BCE, little red-figure was being used in Athens, although it was produced for export.[88] West Slope decoration, a technique in which potters applied colored clay on top of the black-glazed surface, became more popular around the first quarter of the third century BCE, but it was not an aesthetic or stylistic development out of red-figure as red-figure was out of black-figure.[89]

Unfortunately, our archaeological record for the fourth century BCE does not provide the clear horizons of evidence that we have for the late Archaic and high Classical periods. No fixed point is available for the

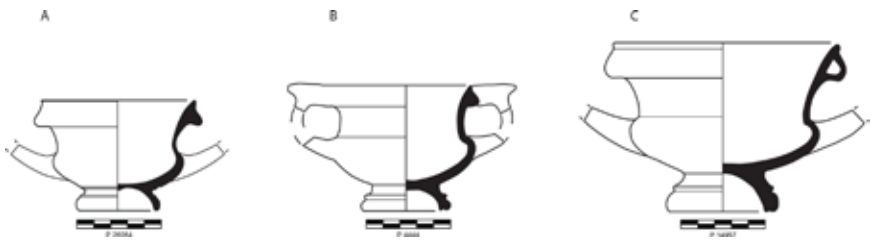

Figure 9.10. Representative Late Classical kantharoi. a) Black-glazed cup-kantharos, P 26064; b) Black-glazed kantharos with molded rim and spur handles, P 4444; c) Black-glazed kantharos with molded "flap" rim and spur handles, P 14957.
Drawings by A. Hooton, digitally inked by K. Lynch.

fourth century BCE in Athens, so dating continues to be syllogistic: scholars date archaeological contexts on the basis of ceramics, but ceramics are dated on stylistic grounds, and stylistic development is assumed to be progressive. The most useful chronological marker for fourth-century BCE pottery is the destruction of Olynthos in 348 BCE. Although there is ongoing debate about re-occupation of the site after the destruction, most agree that household and fine pottery must date before the destruction. Providing a *terminus ante quem*, Olynthos can offer some guidelines for Athenian ceramics, and some of the kantharoi from Olynthos may be Attic. At the other end of the kantharos' development, the encampment at Koroni provides another fixed point. The relative development of the form between these two points can only be speculative.[90]

Although not chronologically firm, Menon's cistern and well from the Athenian Agora excavations allow a case-study of drinking equipment for the late fourth to early third century BCE. The deposits contained pottery from a household associated with a sculptor's workshop. The ceramics discarded in the household cistern and well represented "several generations" of pottery, with some of the pieces dating seventy-five years apart. The closing date of the deposit is taken to be 275 BCE, with the bulk of the pottery dating 325–275 BCE.[91] Thus it gives us a glimpse of drinking equipment from the period after the kantharos had become the favored shape and the late fifth-century BCE forms had all but died out.

Three trends are obvious: drinking vessels still dominate, but new is the appearance of small bowls and plates and the disappearance of storage and mixing (Table 9.5 and Figures 9.11a and 9.11b). Of the drinking vessels, in Figure 9.11b it can be seen that kantharoi are firmly favored (76 percent of all drinking vessels) over the second closest, skyphoi (11 percent of all drinking vessels). These skyphoi are the final descendants of the longest-living of all the Attic pottery shapes. Their longevity is probably due to their sturdy, practical, multi-purpose form, as the practical one-handler also survives into the third century.[92] Two bolsals offer the last gasp of this shape. On the other hand, small bowls took off in popularity. These small receptacles for food appeared in a dizzying array of formal variations, but functionally all held small quantities of food or condiments.[93] The appearance of more food consumption pottery (47 percent now) probably points to a shifting emphasis from drinking to both eating and drinking. As we noted above, Archaic and Classical assemblages contained few if any fine ware forms primarily for eating. Nevertheless, pottery for drinking activities still remains dominant in the fineware assemblage comprising 42 percent.

Perhaps most startling is that storage and service barely appear (1 percent and 9 percent respectively). Excavators did not keep all pottery fragments from this deposit, but they did retain all diagnostic fragments. It is possible that this household disposed of portions of its belongings elsewhere, so the

Table 9.5. Fineware Vessels by Function in Deposit F 16:8, "Menon's Cistern," ca. 325-275 BCE

	Black Glaze	*Household*	*TOTAL*	*% of Total*
Storage				
Amphora + Lid	1	0	**1**	
Pelike	0	0	**0**	
Psykter	0	0	**0**	
Hydria	0	0	**0**	
Loutrophoros	0	0	**0**	
			1	*1%*
Mixing			**0**	*0%*
Service				
Oinochoe	2	5	**7**	
Olpe	0	0	**0**	
Round Mouth Oinochoe	0	0	**0**	
Mini-chous	0	0	**0**	
Canteen	2	0	**2**	
			9	*8%*
Drinking				
Skyphos	5	0	**5**	
Cup	0	0	**0**	
One-handler	1	0	**1**	
Stemless	0	0	**0**	
Mug	0	0	**0**	
Bolsal	2	0	**2**	
Kantharos	34	0	**34**	
Calyx cup	2	0	**2**	
Hemispherical Bowl	1	0	**1**	
			45	*42%*
Other Table Ware				
Lekythos	0	0	**0**	
Stemmed Dish	0	0	**0**	
Salt Cellar	2	0	**2**	
Lekanis + Lid	0	0	**0**	
Globular Lekythos	0	0	**0**	
Askos	1	0	**1**	
Small bowl	34	0	**34**	
Large bowl	0	0	**0**	
Fish Plate	2	0	**2**	
Plate	11	0	**11**	
			50	*47%*
Miscellaneous				
Lebes Gamikos	1	0	**1**	
			1	*1%*
TOTALS	**101**	**5**	**106**	

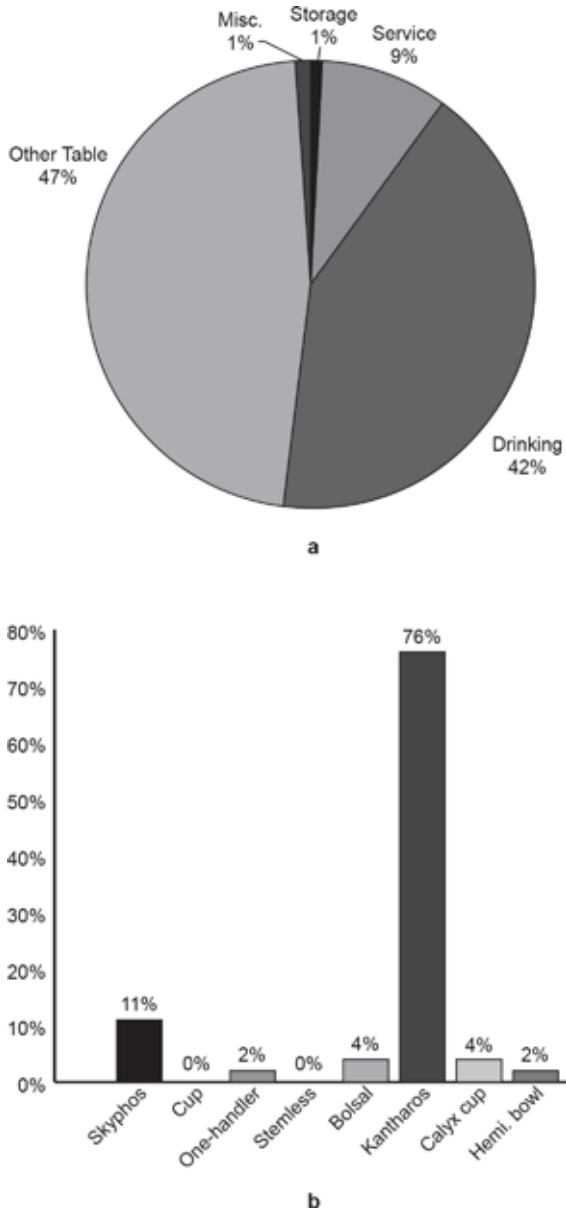

Figure 9.11. Statistical analysis of fineware vessels in deposit F 16:8, "Menon's Cistern," ca. 325-275 BCE a) Graph of fineware vessels grouped by functional categories and expressed as percentages of the whole deposit. b) Graph of fineware drinking cups by form.

recovered deposit did not reflect the entire household assemblage. However, Susan Rotroff has documented that mixing bowls go out of favor in the Hellenistic period.[94] That is, there is a profound change in drinking habits by the middle of the third century BCE. Menon's cistern did not preserve any fineware mixing vessels, which may be a product of ceramic curation policies, but it also may be an early indication of a shift in sympotic focus. This sympotic shift may be related, again, to political change. Once Athens ceases to be an independent polis, the democratic nature of the symposium may not have been so relevant. That is, in the Hellenistic period, it was not crucial that citizens meet and form social bonds. Instead the symposium may have come full circle and again became a place of luxury and ostentatious consumption for the wealthy. If the hosting of symposia was again an elite, status-defining activity, then perhaps the "missing krater" was metal, and thus does not survive. Nevertheless, ceramic kraters were no longer produced in the numbers that they were in the Classical period. This suggests that the symposium was no longer an activity practiced by many individuals of differing social and economic standing. Based on the increase in size of *andrones* in the Hellenistic period, we also see that intimate evenings of equitable activity gave way to large group festivities and performances.[95] Participants of various status levels may still have been attending symposia organized by the elite, but now the elite subjected their guests to their own orchestrated messages of diacritical status.

By the mid fourth century BCE, the pace of innovation slowed down once again, and many of the forms introduced merely thirty to fifty years earlier disappeared. This fourth-century extinction of forms reminds us of the disappearance of variety in kylikes at the end of the sixth century BCE. Periods of rapid change, or in the case of the fifth century BCE, actual innovation, punctuate longer periods of stability. We can correlate these periods of more rapid change with times of social or political turbulence in which material culture was being used for self- or group-definition. As the final case-study of Menon's cistern documents, the new political order in Athens created a different kind of arena for self-definition in which the masses were no longer as critical. If the krater really is missing, this would be the most symbolic of all changes. With the quintessential symbol of communal conviviality absent, then the metaphor of shared wine would not be valid. It is no longer the group but the individual who is the focus of "communal" drinking.

CONCLUSION

We have come full circle. The kantharos has taken the pride of place that the kylix once had in the Archaic period. The path between the kylix's

introduction to Athenian potters in the early sixth century BCE and the birth of the kantharos at the end of the fifth century was not straight or even paced. Nor is there one satisfactory explanation for all the changes we observed. The high-stemmed design of the kylix was well suited for reclining drinking at symposia of the Archaic and early Classical period, and rapid developments in form and decoration during the Archaic period likely relate to its becoming a symbol of symposium participation. The impetus for the change in kylix styles may have come from the potters, who may have expressed their own competition through design changes, or from the consumers, the elites, who also wished to distinguish their factions from each other as well as from the masses. However, the kylix lost its symbolic power during the Classical period: it was not the most popular drinking vessel in symposia after the mid-fifth century BCE. At this time, plain black-glazed vessels that imitated metallic forms dominated. Thus a trend of "pseudo-luxury" marked this period, which coincided with the Peloponnesian War and the social and civil strife that the war produced in Athenian life and politics. Small luxuries may have been ways of focusing on comforts in trying times, or perhaps, of recalling better times. Out of this period of pseudo-luxury only one form survived in popularity, the kantharos, which became the preferred form by 375 BCE. By this point, the sympotic set experienced even more profound changes than just new drinking cups. First, more food consumption table vessels appeared. These small, individual serving dishes imply a shift away from the communal experience of shared wine. Previously, food played a minimal role in sympotic activity. By the Hellenistic period, the krater, the quintessential sympotic vessel, which signified the shared experiences and bonds brought by sharing drink, disappeared, or at least was no longer being made in clay. Symposium group size increased, and the hosts seem to be, as they were in the Archaic period, mainly the elite.

It is possible to seek explanations for drinking vessel changes in social changes or changes in the social meaning of the symposium. Participation in a symposium may have changed meaning over time, from a way for groups of Archaic elites to define their status, to a tool for promoting populist cohesion under the early Democracy to an escape during times of war and sickness during the high Classical period and back again to a way for individual elites to assert influence in the Hellenistic social landscape in which power could shift at any time. Because the practice of the symposium was so critical to self-definition for the culture of Athenians, changes to its equipment may correlate with changes or anxieties within the culture.[96] Material culture, or the objects of a culture, convey meaning. That meaning can be constructed by both producer and consumer. Although made of humble clay, Attic finewares construct meaning through their forms, decoration, and intended use. As with any study of style,

some change may, in fact, be driven by technological change, but other changes may relate more directly to the social meaning of the object. The cultural importance of the symposium charged these objects with meanings beyond their pure function. Thus the drinking cups and their style can be used to define the owner/user as a member of a particular group or to reflect his social status.[97] It seems likely then that changes in forms and decoration—such as seen in the mid-sixth-century kylikes and in the high Classical pseudo-luxury vessels—were intentional and designed to convey a message about their user or possessor.

NOTES

1. I am very grateful to John Camp for giving me my first big academic break, and my second, and my third. . . . His support, encouragement, and advice have been invaluable over the years, although he is not responsible for any unconventional ideas in this paper. I am also indebted to the great students of pottery who have traveled before me at the Agora, Lucy Talcott, Brian Sparkes, Mary Moore, John Oakley, and Susan Rotroff among others. I greatly appreciate the anonymous reviewer and editors of this volume who found mistakes and made suggestions that have strengthened this paper.

Oswyn Murray, "The Greek Symposium in History," in *Tria Corda: Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano*, ed. Emilio Gabba (Como: Edizioni New Press, 1983), 195; Brian A. Sparkes, *The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 85–87; Robert Manuel Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1997), 207; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London: Methuen, 1972), especially pages 42–62, proposes that many Attic pots were commissioned for symposia. In contrast, Herbert Hoffman, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*: The Imagery of Heroic Immortality on Athenian Vases," in *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, ed. Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 31–32, suggests a funerary use for most figured wares; and Michael J. Vickers and David W. J. Gill, *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 105–153, see figured wares as down-market surrogates for metalware. In Athens, important categories of vases for other uses included Panathenaic Amphorai, white-ground lekythoi, wedding vases, and toilet vases among others. Nevertheless, the majority of figured ware produced at Athens related to communal drinking activities.

2. An obvious statement, but Dean E. Arnold, *Ceramic Theory and Cultural Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 153–154, supports with case-studies.

3. Sian Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 116–120, and Juliette de La Genière, "Clients, potiers et peintres," in *Les clients de la céramique grecque*: *Actes du colloque de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 30-31 janvier 2004*, ed. Juliette de La Genière (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2006), 9-15; Juliette de La Genière, "Les

amateurs des scenes érotiques de l'archaïsme recent," in *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th–4th centuries B.C.)*, ed. Athéna Tsingarida (Brussels: CReA-patrimoine, 2009), 345–346, among others, see the Etruscan market for Attic pottery influencing both its shape and iconography. Ann Steiner, *Reading Greek Vases* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 232–245, extends conclusions gained from archaeological evidence to unprovenanced pottery with some success.

4. This present study parallels the history of the Greek symposium as discussed in Oswyn Murray, "The Symposion as Social Organisation," in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen, 1983), 195-199, but through the lens of material culture. This paper provides some hypotheses and tests them with data to arrive at reasonable conclusions; nevertheless, new evidence or new questions may yield future conclusions.

5. See especially James N. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 43–49.

6. John Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 246–254; Massimo Vetta, "The Culture of the Symposium," in *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 100–102; Peter Connolly and Hazel Dodge, *The Ancient City: Life in Classical Athens & Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 52. Connolly's reconstruction of the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus depicts symposiasts drinking from kylikes, which we will see is an anachronism, because by 375 BCE kylikes were out of fashion.

7. For example, Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 209–229; Max G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983); Gisela M. A. Richter and Marjorie Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York: Plantin Press, 1935).

8. Attic Stamnoi are also scarce in Athens, see Juliette de La Genière, "Vases des Lénéennes?" *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 99 (1987): 44–61.

9. Among many such discussions, see, e.g., Vincent Tosto, *The Black Figure Pottery Signed NIKOSTHENESEPOIESEN* (Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 1999).

10. Barbara Tsakirgis, "Living and Working around the Athenian Agora: A Preliminary Case Study of Three Houses," in *Ancient Greek Houses and Households: Chronological, Regional, and Social Diversity*, ed. Bradley A. Ault and Lisa C. Nevett (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 67–82; Rodney S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20 (1951): 135–288.

11. For an extensive discussion of the role of metalware in Athenian households, see Vickers and Gill, *Artful Crafts*, especially pages 33–46.

12. Or conversely, as Hoffman, "*Dulce et decorum*," 31, suggests, perhaps even the poorest Athenians used metal.

13. See also *OCD*, 1461, s.v. symposium (Murray).

14. For civic and ritual symposia, see Birgitta Bergquist, "Sympotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-Rooms," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 37-65; Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?" in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. Oswyn Mur-

ray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 14-33; and Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet: Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1992).

15. Kathleen M. Lynch, "More Thoughts on the Space of the Symposium," in *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Cardiff University, 17–21 April 2001*, ed. Ruth Westgate, Nicholas R. E. Fisher, and James Whitley (London: British School at Athens, 2007), 244–245; Kathryn Topper, "Primitive Life and the Construction of the Sympotic Past in Athenian Vase Painting," *AJA* 113 (2009): 9–12.

16. François Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*, trans. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 19.

17. Literary evidence for drinking in rounds discussed in Marek Węcowski, "Towards a Definition of the Symposion," in ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ: Studies Presented to Benedetto Bravo and Ewa Wipszycka by their *Disciples*, ed. Tomas Derda, Jakub Urbanik, and Marek Węcowski (Warsaw: Fundacaja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2002), 337–355.

18. Oswyn Murray, "Sympotic History," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the* Symposion, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 6; Vetta, "Culture of the Symposium," in comparison to other articles in Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) such as Francis Joannes, "The Social Function of Banquets in the Earliest Civilizations," 32-37 (Near Eastern); Edda Bresciani, "Food Culture in Ancient Egypt," 38-45 (Egyptian); and even Miguel-Ángel Motis Dolader, "Mediterranean Jewish Diet and Traditions in the Middle Ages," 224–244 (Medieval Jewish). For the roles communal dining did have, and their relationship to communal drinking activities, see Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet*; Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, "Greek Meals: A Civic Ritual," in *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 90–95.

19. *RE* 7, 1931, col. 1264, s.v. Symposion (Schwahn).

20. Oswyn Murray, "Sympotic History," 5.

21. Oswyn Murray, "Histories of Pleasure," in *In Vino Veritas*, ed. Oswyn Murray and Manula Tecuşan (London: British School at Rome, 1995), 13; Ezio Pellizer, "Outlines of a Morphology of Sympotic Entertainment," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 177–180; Lissarrague, *Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 13 (on the role of satyrs in sympotic imagery).

22. Daniel B. Levine, "Symposium and the Polis," in *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*, ed. Thomas J. Figueira and Gregory Nagy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 194–195.

23. Dwight B. Heath, "A Decade of Development in the Anthropological Study of Alcohol Use: 1970-1980," in *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, ed. Mary Douglas (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 16–69, especially pages 34 and 46.

24. Murray, "Histories of Pleasure," 4–5; Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 36–29. On Theognis, see e.g., vv. 979–982 and vv. 295–298; Levine, "Symposium and the Polis," 186–189.

25. See Lissarrague, *Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 3–18; Murray, "Histories of Pleasure," 4–9; Węcowski, "Towards a Definition of the Symposion," 347–355.

26. Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 52–55, and 62. Note that Mabel Lang did not consider graffiti of fewer than two letters in *Agora* 21.

27. Murray, "Greek Symposium in History," 196.

28. The complexity of development is addressed through various avenues of evidence: Murray, "Symposion as Social Organisation," 263–265; Murray, "The Greek Symposium in History," 196–199, especially page 198. Marek Węcowski, "Homer and the Origins of the Symposion," in *Omero Tremila Anni Dopo*, ed. Franco Montanari and Paola Asheri (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002), 632–635, sees evidence for symposia already in Homer. Hans van Wees, "Princes at Dinner: Social Event and Social Structure in Homer," in *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology,* ed. Jan P. Crielaard (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1995), 177–179, emphasizes that both Homeric and Archaic-Classical symposia focus on forming social groups, not military bands.

29. Jean-Marie Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1982); Oswyn Murray, "Symposion as Social Organisation," 263–265; Murray, "Histories of Pleasure."

30. On the role of the symposium in defining the elite, see Murray, "Histories of Pleasure," 8–9.

31. John Nicolas Coldstream, "Gift Exchange in the Eighth Century B.C.," in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen, 1983), 20; John Nicolas Coldstream, "The Geometric Style: Birth of the Picture," in *Looking at Greek Vases*, ed. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 39–40; Węcowski, "Homer and the Origins of the Symposion," 634–635.

32. *Agora* 8:108.

33. *Agora* 8:46–54.

34. Oswyn Murray, "Nestor's Cup and the Origins of the Greek Symposion," in ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ: *i più antichi insediamenti Greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, ed. Bruno D'Agostino and David Ridgway (Naples: Instituto universitario orientale, 1994), 47-54; Georg Danek, "Der Nestorbecher von Ischia: Epische Zitiertechnik und das Symposion," *Wiener Studien* 107–108 (1994–1995): 29–44.

35. *Agora* 8:34–35.

36. The complex re-use of pottery beyond its intended primary use is explored extensively in J. Theodore Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

37. *Agora* 12:114–117. Among many examples, see Dionysos on the amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter with vintage scene, Basel, Antikenmuseum 420, *Para* 65, *LIMC* 3:459, no. 408, plate 345, s.v. Dionysos (Gasparri).

38. Thomas Bargatzky, "Innovation and the Integration of Sociocultural Systems," in *What's New? A Closer Look at the Process of Innovation*, ed. Sander van der Leeuw and Robin Torrence (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 17–19. The more subtle changes in kylix forms described below, then, are not innovations, per se, but modifications.

39. *Agora* 23:62.

40. Ibid., 62–68. For illustrations of most of these, see http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/shapes/komast.htm.

41. Of the thirty-one black-figured Siana Cups, twenty-five are published in *Agora* 23. Three of the unpublished examples are somewhat complete, although highly fragmentary, and come from the new excavations north of Hadrian Street, quadrant J.

42. *Agora* 12:88–89.

43. Ibid., 90-91.

44. Ibid., 81–82 and 88.

45. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

46. See, for example, the explanations for innovation in Sander van der Leeuw and Robin Torrence, eds., *What's New? A Closer Look at the Process of Innovation* (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), and for stylistic change adduced by Margaret A. Hardin and Barbara J. Mills, "The Social and Historical Context of Short-Term Stylistic Replacement: A Zuni Case Study," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 7 (2000): 158. Vickers and Gill, *Artful Crafts*, have used a variation on Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu, *Distinction*) in their hypothesis that figured ceramics imitate metal wares.

47. Originally proposed by Weber: see Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Günther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischoff et al. (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), 22–33 passim. A variation occurs in Bourdieu, *Distinction*, ch. 1, "The Aristocracy of Culture," discussed in David Gartman, "Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Change: Explication, Application, Critique," *Sociological Theory* 20 (2002): 257.

48. Gartman, "Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Change," 256.

49. For material culture and social cohesion, see Ian Hodder, "Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning," *Archäologische Anzeiger* 44 (1979): 446-454. On the ideological motivation for ceramic change: Arnold, *Ceramic Theory*, 158; Catherine Morgan and Todd Whitelaw, "Pots and Politics. Ceramic Evidence for the Rise of the Argive State," *AJA* 95 (1991): 92–93; Polly Wiessner, "Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points," *American Antiquity* 48 (1983): 271–272; Wiessner, "Reconsidering the Behavorial Basis for Style: A Case Study among the Kalahari San," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 3 (1984): 225–230. Wiessner, "Style and Changing Relations between the Individual and Society," in *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expressions*, ed. Ian Hodder (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 58–62, also provides ethnographic examples in which both homogeneity and heterogeneity are used by cultures simultaneously.

50. Nicholas F. Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 223–227, assesses the evidence for *hetairiai*, leisure "clubs," to which aristocratic men belonged. Jones (pages 226–227) emphasizes the inevitably political nature of the clubs, "Given the predominately oligarchic ideological tendencies of the aristocratic elite, how likely is it that these clubs were ever at any time or in any sense nonpolitical?" *Hetairiai* met in symposia.

51. For competition among the potters and painters of early red-figure, see most recently, Richard T. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting: The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530-460 B.C.E.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 51–54.

52. For a "cash flow" model of innovation acceptance, see D. A. Spratt, "Innovation Theory Made Plain," *What's New? A Closer Look at the Process of Innovation*, ed. Sander van der Leeuw and Robin Torrence (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 248–249, figure 12.1.

53. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting*, 22.

54. On the relationship of lyric and the symposium, see Murray, "The Greek Symposium in History," 195; Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting*, 12, and elsewhere. The philological side has an immense bibliography, but Ewen L. Bowie, "Early Greek Elegy, Symposium, and Public Festival," *JHS* 106 (1986): 13–35, and Jurgen Trumpf, "Über das Trinken in der Poesie des Alkaios," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 12 (1973): 139–160, are notable studies.

55. Lynch, "More Thoughts on the Space," 247–248; Kathleen M. Lynch, *The Symposium in Context: Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2011). See similar observations based on iconography, Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 29–30; Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché*, 450.

56. Oswyn Murray, "Symposion as Social Organisation," and Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting*, 22 (quoted above); Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 293, 304, 333, and elsewhere.

57. A full study of the chronology and character of twenty-one of the deposits excavated by the Athenian Agora Excavations has been published by T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits," *Hesperia* 62 (1993): 383–482; Kathleen M. Lynch, "Pottery from a Late Archaic Athenian House in Context" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1999), and Lynch, *The Symposium in Context*, publish the twenty-second deposit. Strata and pockets of debris occur in the stratigraphic excavations, but these are often cut by other features and thus are not as complete. The present study limits itself to the closed deposits.

58. Shear, "Persian Destruction of Athens," 388 and 393.

59. *Agora* 12:200–201. These household hydriai are made from a cooking-ware fabric, a gritty, thin, coarse fabric resembling that used for true cooking ware shapes. The "cooking-ware" fabric was also used for the kados (pages 201–203), another kind of water jar.

60. For more detailed discussion see Lynch, *Symposium in Context*, Chapter 3, where minimum number of vessel calculation method is described in full. Formula after Susan I. Rotroff and John H. Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992), 133. While excavators retained all excavated material from well J 2:4, not all of the deposit originated in the house. Some, at the top, was brought in to top off the well. Lynch, *Symposium in Context*, assumes complete, nearly complete, and fragmentary vessels with joins from top to bottom of the deposit comprise household property.

61. Preliminary report: John McK. Camp II, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995," *Hesperia* 65 (1996): 242–252; full study, with some updates: Lynch, "Pottery from a Late Archaic Athenian House in Context," 160–161, and Lynch, *Symposium in Context*.

62. Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft (G 6:3), Eugene Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft: The Upper Fill," *Hesperia* 15 (1946): 265-336, and the Stoa Gutter Well (Q 12:3), Sally R. Roberts and Alice Glock, "The Stoa Gutter Well, a Late Archaic Deposit in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 55 (1986): 1–74.

63. M 17:4: Shear, "Persian Destruction of Athens," 461. Shear gives a count of thirty-five total fragments of black-figured lekythoi, but this is a raw count. Of these, three are lekythoi mouths and two are bases. Using a similar minimum vessel count as was used for deposit J 2:4, the minimum number of black-figured lekythoi in M 17:4 is three. The remaining fragments, as in J 2:4, may have come from the house, but could also have been introduced as fill brought in from someplace else.

64. *Agora* 12:144.

65. Michael Eisman, "Attic Kyathos Production," *Archaeology* 28 (1975): 77 and 82–83.

66. For example, Douris, Florence Museum of Archaeology 3922, *ARV*^{2} 432, no. 55; François Lissarrague, *Greek Vases: The Athenians and their Images*, ed. Brian Eskenazi, trans. Kim Allen (New York: Riverside Book Co., 2001), 32–33, figures 20, 21, 22. Douris' wine boys also hold small, round-bottomed serving vessels, which bear a slight resemblance to small chytrai.

67. Cage Painter, Paris, Louvre G 133, *ARV*^{2} 348, no. 7; Lissarrague, *Greek Vases*, 37, figure 26.

68. Hansjörg Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des strengen Stils* (Bern: Benteli, 1940).

69. *Agora* 12:93–97; silver versions of Acrocups listed on page 96.

70. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen*, 107–109, plate 31.

71. Rotroff and Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place*, 53–55, on this passage and earthquakes in Athens; on the Parthenon: Manolis Korres, "The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century," in *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. Panayotis Tournikiotis (Athens: Melissa, 1994), 138; Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 91.

72. H 4:5: Rotroff and Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place*, 53–55; R 13:4: Lucy Talcott, "Attic Black-glazed Stamped Ware and Other Pottery from a Fifth Century Well," *Hesperia* 4 (1935): 476-523. Also Agora Deposits: F 5:3, F 14:2, E 13:1, M 18:8. I examined inventoried and context pottery stored in the Stoa of Attalos. In most cases, excavators had culled non-diagnostic sherds. The discussion here assumes that the remaining diagnostic sherds provide a representative sample.

73. Rotroff and Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place*, 44–45.

74. Lucilla Burn, "Red Figure and White Ground of the Later Fifth Century," in *Looking at Greek Vases*, ed. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 120.

75. Note that for vessel counts from H 4:5, the number represents maximum number of vessels. In their study of the contents of the deposit, Rotroff and

Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place*, 131–132, table 1, count all fragments that do not join as individual vessels. Thus, the numbers are likely to be high, but proportionately so.

76. *Agora* 12:98. None are known earlier than 500 BCE.

77. Ibid., 100–101.

78. Ibid., 102–105.

79. Ibid.,110–111. Although classed with cup-skyphoi typologically, the shape did not evolve out of the Archaic cup-skyphos, which sometimes received black-figured decoration. Rather it is better to think of the light wall cup-skyphos as inspired by the delicate class stemlesses (Ibid., 110).

80. From the third quarter of the fourth century BCE, see Manolis Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1984), 148, figures 106, 107 from Tomb 3 at Vergina, and page 210, figure 173, from the "Prince's Tomb" at Vergina.

81. Kraters went out of fashion before the skyphos. For the demise of the krater, see Susan I. Rotroff, *The Missing Krater and the Hellenistic Symposium: Drinking in the Age of Alexander the Great* (Christchurch, NZ: University of Canterbury, 1996), and discussion below.

82. Polychrome oinochoai: Margaret Crosby, "Five Comic Scenes from Athens," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 76-84. For figural drawing under black-glaze, see for example *Agora* 12:270, no. 505, plate 52.

83. Jerome J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 122–125.

84. The "Lipstick Effect." See "Lip Reading," *The Economist*, January 22, 2009 (http://www.economist.com/business/displaystory.cfm?story_id=12995765).

85. Agora 12:113–117; on page 112, Sparkes and Talcott note that it ceased to be produced around 380 BCE, "an early victim to the popularity of the cup-kantharos and related shapes to which it had helped in such a large way to give rise."

86. Ibid., 117–121. Silver examples from Derveni: Grave B, inventory B5 and B6; National Gallery of Art with contributions by Nicholas Yalouris, *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1980), 168–169, nos. 131, 132; silver example from a Thracian tomb of the fourth century BCE: Zofia Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 281, plate 36, from Hadjidimovo (formerly Gornyani), Bulgaria.

87. *Agora* 12:122–123.

88. John Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989), 190.

89. *Agora* 29:41–43 with discussion of origins and the misnomer "West Slope."

90. David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, vol. 5, *Mosaics, Vases, and Lamps of Olynthus Found in 1928 and 1931* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933); David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, vol. 13, *Vases Found in 1934 and 1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1950), and *Olynthus* series; Nicholas Cahill, *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), for excavation analysis. For identification of the site and date, see summary with references in *Agora* 29:18–20. Post-destruction reoccupation of Olynthos was among the topics of a Colloquium at the Archaeological

Institute of America in 1989; abstracts published *AJA* 94 (1990): 314–316. Rotroff on Koroni in Attica, *Agora* 29:31–32.

91. F 16:8: *Agora* 29:431. Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43 (1974): 196 on household identification, page 201 for date range.

92. The skyphos will disappear by 250 BCE: *Agora* 29:94; the one-handler in the early third century BCE: Ibid., 155–156.

93. See Ibid., 156–168 for the typology and development. We have over-typologized these little bowls, and even distinguishing them from their cousins, plates and saucers, may be applying etic distinctions.

94. Hellenistic kraters that we do have are smaller in capacity than Classical versions, and drinking cups have a larger capacity, Rotroff, *The Missing Krater*, 18; page 27, for possible explanations for the change.

95. Monika Trümper, "Differentiation in the Hellenistic Houses at Delos: The Question of Functional Areas," in *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001*, ed. Ruth Westgate, N. R. E. Fisher, James Whitley (London: British School at Athens, 2007), 326–330. See also Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 488–490.

96. The role of material culture in social definition has been explored by, among many others, Ian Hodder, ed., *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1991); Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), and reviewed recently by Ann Smart Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28 (1993), 141–157. Ian Woodward, "Domestic Objects and the Taste Epiphany," *Journal of Material Culture* 6 (2001): 115-136, explores the quality of self-definition as determined through material culture.

97. Wiessner, "Style and Changing Relations," 58, argues that style is "a means of negotiating person and social identity." She goes on to present examples in which competition among individuals results in heterogeneous styles and strong group identity results in homogeneity of styles.

10

Three Late Medieval Kilns from the Athenian Agora

Camilla MacKay

The Agora Excavations were intended from the beginning to reveal the public buildings of ancient Athens, and to accomplish that goal, the medieval overlay of the area had to be removed.[1] Yet from the beginning of the excavations, the post-classical remains in the Agora were systematically recorded and the finds carefully preserved in the storerooms. The vast majority of the material is pottery; the area of the Agora in the late medieval period was mostly residential, with a few churches and some small industry. Yet publication of medieval levels has been scanty. Nonetheless, there is a long history: the very first issue of *Hesperia* in 1933 contained an article on the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman pottery found during the first seasons of excavation.[2] But it was some time until more medieval material was published, and for decades, one of the only, and certainly best-known, publications that focused on pottery in Ottoman Greece was Alison Frantz's 1942 article in *Hesperia* "Turkish Pottery from the Agora." In that article, she drew attention to a type of ceramic with white, red, and blue glaze, and to two kilns excavated in the 1930s that conclusively demonstrated that this pottery was manufactured in Athens. In this article, I revisit the preserved assemblages of those two kilns and present an overview of the contents of a third kiln, also excavated in the 1930s in the Agora, which is hitherto unpublished.

In addition to the blue- and red-on-white painted ware that Frantz published, the kilns yielded a glaze-painted plain or sgraffito ware with the predominant colors yellow, green, and brown. Both finewares are assumed by Frantz to date to the sixteenth century. They are the predominant type of locally made glazed wares found in Athens in that period;

they have also been found in Boeotia, both in urban excavations and field survey.[3]

While I present here only a superficial look at these two types of pottery and do not attempt to refine the dating of these wares, analysis of the three Agora kilns demonstrates local Athenian production for both of these types of glazed pottery. Although these two types are visually distinctive from the glazed pottery in use in Attica and Boeotia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries both in shape and decoration, they nonetheless form part of a continuous tradition of ceramic production in the medieval Agora.

KILNS

The three kilns, excavated in 1935 and 1936, were located in the area of the Agora just to the west of the Panathenaic Way and the Stoa of Attalos. There was no associated contemporary architecture. The kilns were of standard updraft type, and all were round, originally with domed tops, with stoking chamber, combustion chamber, perforated floor, and firing chamber.[4] Bowls in all three kilns were separated with small hand-formed clay tripods; the standard method used from the thirteenth century onwards.[5] Also manufactured in these kilns were glazed one-handled pitchers. A waster of a two-handled water jar or amphora (a shape that does not appear in glazed form) from Kiln 3 indicates that coarsewares were also made in these kilns.

I include the full (if brief) descriptions from the excavation notebooks, slightly edited, and a general indication of the assemblages saved at the time of excavation. Wasters and pieces from various stages of the manufacturing process were saved by the excavators in some quantities. The tins mentioned in the descriptions, which are used to store excavation pottery, are of the large rectangular type used for olive oil, for example. In order to ensure a fair degree of certainty that the pieces were made in these kilns and were not introduced at another time, I only discuss those pieces that were clearly misfired or discarded, with the exception of Bowls 1–4. The bowls were catalogued in the 1930s but never published; they were presumably made in the kilns and were discards, although since they show no signs of misfiring, this cannot be certain. Nevertheless, they are almost complete examples of the type of glaze-painted pottery that was made in these kilns. It would be misleading to provide percentages of the types of sherds preserved because the excavators did not indicate how much pottery was saved. It appears, however, as though most of the substantial pieces of the glazed wares were saved, and that the number of sherds of red- and blue-painted ware was considerably

fewer than the number of glaze-painted sgraffito wares. Dozens of firing tripods were saved.

Dating the kilns is tenuous, and unfortunately, no coins were found to help date the contexts. Frantz was, however, able to establish a *terminus ante quem*—the church of Panagia Vlassarou, which was demolished in 1935, was built directly over the kilns and was standing in 1676, when Jacob Spon visited Athens.[6] Kilns 2 and 3 must predate this church, and the sixteenth-century date assigned to the pottery since Frantz's article is likely to be correct.

The tuyère (bellows nozzle) (no. 5) was found in Kiln 3, and is therefore presumably part of the kiln furniture. Tuyères from medieval or post-medieval contexts have so rarely been published that I include it in this catalogue.

Kiln 1 (Figure 10.1a)

Section O 58:KΓ. Notebook, page 393. Excavated April 9, 1935:

> About a meter below the present surface we have come upon the top of a small potter's oven of the Turkish period. It is no longer roofed over, the top being broken. It is about 1.20 m. in diameter. The walls are built of bits of brick and pot-sherds, bonded with reddish brown clay, which has fired yellowish (brittle) at inner edge. They are preserved to a height of ca. 0.50–0.60. Below they rest on a layer of stones. To the north is a doorway 0.45 wide. In the doorway and in the front of the chamber was a layer of burning in which were the bowls [P 5440 and P 5441] and Tin 118. Toward the back, and rising sharply over a fill of brown earth lay some of the fallen bricks and plaster of the wall.

Saved from Kiln 1 (Section O, Tins 117 and 118) were bowls and jugs from various stages in the firing process, including glazed and unglazed wasters of glaze-painted sgraffito and plain bowls, and tripod stilts. Two bowls from the burned level in the kiln were catalogued (nos. 1 and 2, below).

Kiln 2 (Figure 10.1b)

Section N 12:ΛA-ΛΓ. Notebook, page 792. Excavated 22 February, 1936. This is one of the two kilns below the floor of the church of Panagia Vlassarou.[7]

> Its mouth is paved with blackened marble slabs at level -0.98 m. A bottle-neck built up of red soft bricks has a floor at level -1.50 m. The main kiln, 1.20 m. in diameter, corresponded exactly to the well at 12:ΛA, and its sides

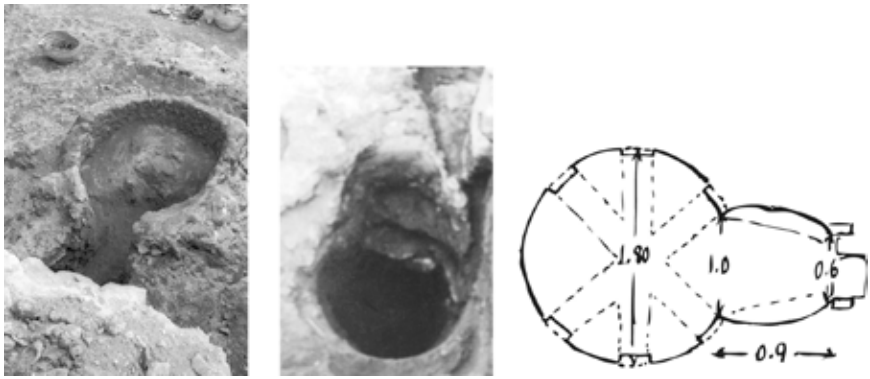

Figure 10.1. a, Kiln 1, looking southwest (photo from excavation notebook, section O, page 393. April 9, 1935); b, Kiln 2, from above, looking north (photo from excavation notebook, section N, page 792, February 22, 1936); c, Kiln 3 (after drawing from the excavation notebook in the Agora Excavation Archives, section N, page 662).
Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations.

of bricks, almost unrecognizable, actually line it at this level. Its eastern edge was cut by the foundations of the church. Not enough remains to determine whether or not it had a ribbed dome. In the neck were found more late Turkish sherds, and some already slipped but without glaze.

Saved from Kiln 2 (Section N, Tin 26) were pieces of a large coarseware basin, some blue, red, and white wares, glaze-painted sgraffito wares, and lamps.

Kiln 3 (Figure 10.1c)

Section N 14-15:ΛA-ΛB Notebook p. 662. Excavated 30 January, 1936. This is the second of the two kilns mentioned by Frantz.[8]

The floor of the kiln was reached at level 58.4 m. It sloped slightly northward and consisted of hard-packed lime and earth. Embedded in this floor were numbers of coarse sherds, many burned quite black—one with green glaze of good Turkish type. The walls were made of small pieces of tiles, broken and reused. In the 'neck' they curved over to form a vault and showed heavy evidence of burning. In the central chamber they rose vertically for 0.70 m, then curved in to form vault segments between. The ribs, composed of three arches of brick intersecting at the centre. These bricks were badly softened and were only preserved in situ for the lowest 3 courses. They measured l. 0.27 w. 0.135, h. 0.035, poorly made. The kiln was lined with a thick brown plaster-cement, rather tough and coarse. It was also used to set the bricks. In the 'neck' were found quantities of sherds, largely coarse, but including some rather better pieces of green glazed and painted Turkish wares.

Saved from Kiln 3 (Section N, Tins 27–30) were coarsewares, including a waster of a water jar, many bowls in various stages of the firing process (plain, slipped but not glazed, and misfired), and tripods. There were also a number of lamps. Like Kiln 2, this kiln contained blue, red, and white pottery, and also the same types of glaze-painted plain and sgraffito bowls that were made in Kilns 1 and 2. Two bowls were catalogued (nos. 3 and 4, below).

BLUE, WHITE, AND RED IMITATION MAIOLICA (FIGURE 10.2)

The blue- and red-painted wares made in Kilns 2 and 3 are tantalizing because they represent a strong visual break from earlier medieval Athenian glazed pottery. This type of pottery was first published by Frederick Waagé in 1933, but Frantz drew particular attention to it because the two kilns that she published proved that it was made in the Agora.[9] "Blue and white painted ware" appears in her groups 3–5.

Examples of imitation maiolica have been found in Thebes, the Boeotian countryside, and at Corinth.[10] The three illustrations here are illustrative of the types of bowls and pitchers that occur. Pictorial decoration is simple, and can include birds, like the bowl of Figure 10.2a, and lions.[11] Bowls with similar shapes to the glaze-painted sgraffito also occur (squared rims, high ring bases as in Figure 10.2b). Finally, trefoil-mouthed pitchers with geometric or pictorial decoration are common (Figure 10.2c). Frantz's article provides good illustrations of the basic shapes.[12]

Figure 10.2. a, blue and white bowl with rooster, P 7815 (Alison Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora." Hesperia 11 [1942]: 5, figure 2); b, blue and white bowl, P 5049 (Frantz, "Turkish Pottery," page 6, figure 3); c, blue and white pitcher, P 7092 (Frantz, "Turkish Pottery," page 6, fig. 5).
Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations.

LATE MEDIEVAL GLAZED-PAINTED POTTERY (FIGURES. 10.3–10.6)

Glaze-painted pottery was made in all three kilns. It is lead-glazed, sometimes with sgraffito decoration, in different shades of three basic colors, green, yellow, and brown, with the occasional addition of blue. It too represents a distinctive visual change from the pottery of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Athens, although the colors are similar.[13] The sgraffito pieces from Kiln 1 (nos. 1, 2; Figures. 10.3–10.4) are good examples of the type. Bowls were carefully made and well formed, in contrast to the sloppy appearance of earlier Athenian sgraffito. The rims are distinctive: Bowls 1 and 2 both have square rims with exterior ridges; this particularly common form of rim may occur on bowls of all shapes, including flat plates. The bowls also have high squared ring bases. Slip often covers some or most of the exterior of the vessel. Sgraffito designs—zigzags, squiggles—were hastily but evenly applied within and sometimes on the exterior.[14] Glaze is applied both to the interior (in multiple colors), and to most or all of the exterior. At least one workshop in the area of the Roman Agora was producing bowls with pictorial designs; perhaps there was no such workshop in the area of the Agora Excavations, for almost all the contemporary sgraffito bowls and plates found in the Agora have only linear decoration.[15]

This type of pottery is known from other sites in central and southern Greece. Pieces found outside Athens could be Athenian products, but there could well have been other kilns producing the same types of pottery. Examples of this type of fineware have been found in excavations and surveys in Phocis and Boeotia.[16]

1. Glaze-Painted Sgraffito Bowl (Figure 10.3)
   P 5440. From Kiln 1.
   H. 0.115, Diam. 0.255, Diam. (base) 0.095.
   Part of rim and wall missing. Deep bowl with squared, outwardly thickened rim with double ridge 1 cm below rim on exterior. High squared ring foot. On interior, sgraffito lines around body just below rim and 4 cm below rim. White slip over entire interior and 2–4 cm down exterior, with dribbles. Interior covered with light green glaze; darker green glaze on top of rim and covering slip on exterior. Applied darker green and brown glaze: in bottom, three circles of dark green with brown cross-hatching and brown chevrons between; around rim, dark green curlicues interspersed with short brown lines. Tripod marks in center bottom. 7.5YR 7/4–7/6 (pink to reddish yellow).

Figure 10.3. Glaze-painted sgraffito bowl (P 5440).
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations; drawing A. Hooton.

2. Glaze-Painted Sgraffito Bowl (Figure 10.4)
P 5441. From Kiln 1.
H. 0.085, Diam. 0.175, Diam. (base) 0.075.
Similar in shape to P 5440, only smaller. Complete profile; missing pieces from body. Four sgraffito lines around body interior just below rim. Pale slip over interior and top of bowl on exterior, with drips. Pale green glaze on interior, dark green glaze applied to top of rim, and over slip on exterior. Design of unevenly applied squiggles of dark green and brown on interior. Tripod marks in center bottom. 5YR 6/6–7/6 (reddish yellow).

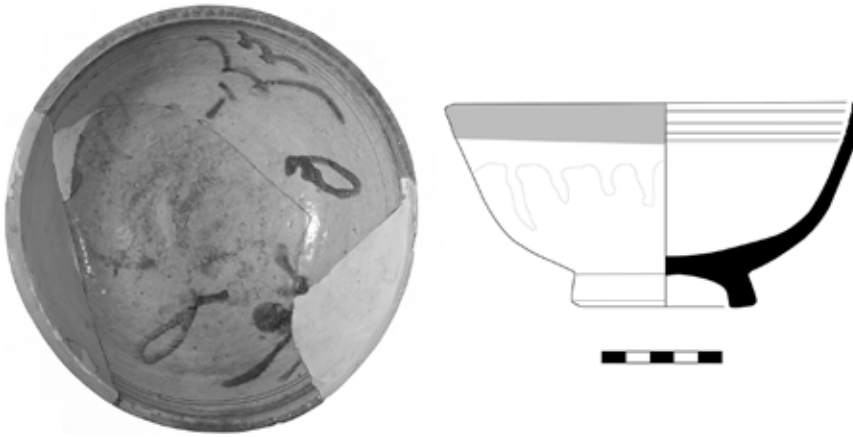

Figure 10.4. Glaze-painted sgraffito bowl (P 5441).
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations; drawing A. Hooton.

3. Glaze-Painted Bowl (Figure 10.5)
   P 6650. From Kiln 3.
   H. 0.043, Diam. 0.093, Diam. (foot) 0.042
   Entire profile preserved, missing about half of wall. One non-joining piece of rim. Rounded bowl with plain, tapering rim. Well-formed high ring foot. White slip over interior and all of exterior. Pale green glaze on interior, dark green on exterior, lip dipped a second time in green glaze. Design of blue circle in center bottom with blue checkerboard pattern and light brown dots in center. On interior walls, outlined zigzag pattern, lines filled with alternating green and brown. Tripod marks in center bottom. 7.5YR 8/4 (pink).

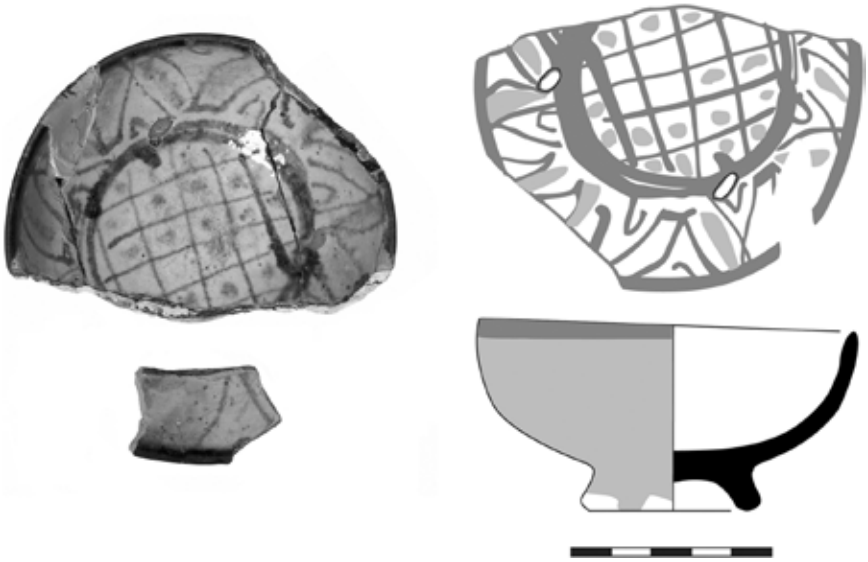

Figure 10.5. Glaze-painted bowl (P 6650).
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations; drawing A. Hooton.

4. Glazed Bowl (Figure 10.6)
   P 6649. From Kiln 3.
   H. 0.042, Diam., 0.093, Diam. (foot) 0.042.
   Small rounded bowl, almost completely preserved, with chipped foot. Plain tapering rim, high ring base. No slip. Pale yellow glaze applied to interior and exterior, thicker and opaque on interior walls. Tripod marks in center bottom. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink).

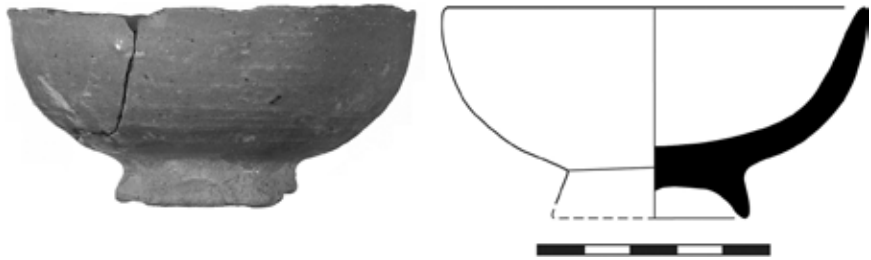

Figure 10.6. Glazed bowl (P 6649).
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations; drawing A. Hooton.

5. Tuyère (Figure 10.7)
   N1003. Section N, Tin 29
   L. 0.385, Diam. (wider end) 0.105; (narrower end) 0.055. Thickness of wall 0.008–0.012.
   Tube of clay, flaring at one end. Formed and smoothed by hand; 0.010 on wider end shaved down to smooth surface and along part of the rest of its length. Edge of wider end also cut with a string. Incision around circumference, 0.005 from narrower end; probably an aborted string cut. Yellow glaze covers interior and drips down wider end of exterior. The glaze is surprising, but because of its size, it is unlikely to have been a funnel.[17] 5YR 6/4–7/4 (light reddish brown to pink); some large white and dark inclusions.

DISCUSSION

In recent years, it has been assumed that the blue and white wares are maiolicas (i.e., earthenwares with tin-opacified glaze) and therefore represent a technological change from lead-glazed pottery.[18] There are certainly unmistakable similarities between this Athenian ware and Italian maiolicas in shape and decoration. Joanita Vroom, in her field guide to Byzantine and later pottery, for instance, calls it "Maiolica from Greece," and I have also made this assumption.[19] Such an assumption turns out to be unwarranted, however; whatever Italian influence may be seen in the pottery, whether in shape or decoration, does not extend to the adoption of new (and expensive) materials and new techniques of glazing.[20]

Preliminary scientific investigation of the glaze using a handheld portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) analyzer seems to indicate that no tin is present in the lead glaze. True medieval maiolicas had a high enough percentage of tin that one would expect the pXRF analyzer to indicate the presence of tin if the Agora samples had a similar makeup: the glazes of

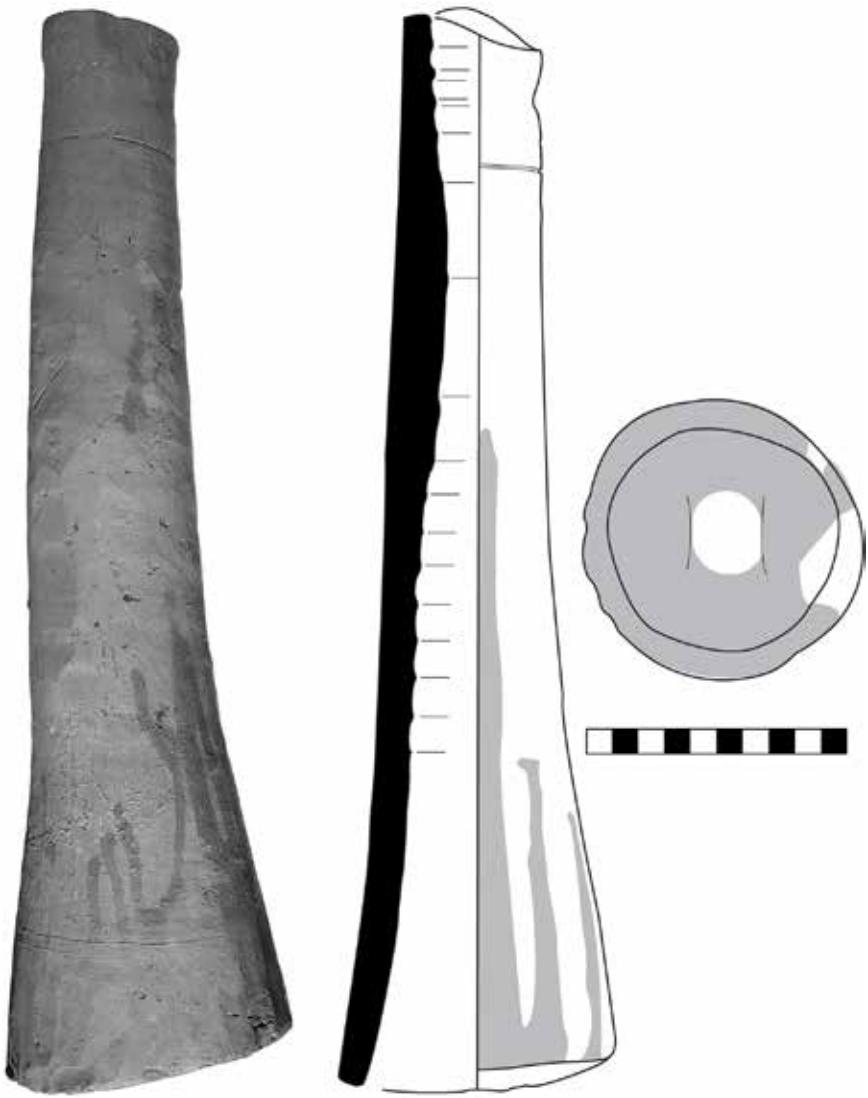

Figure 10.7. Tuyère from Kiln 3 (N 1003).
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations: drawing A. Hootan.

Italian maiolicas, Spanish pottery from Paterna, and Iznik ceramics all contain tin oxide to at least 6 percent of total weight.[21] But it did not; all the Agora samples, sgraffitos and the possible maiolicas, were lead-glazed with no trace of tin. The samples tested were only those that were definitely produced in the kilns, i.e., those that were misfired or wasters. All showed

elements one would expect in lead-glazed pottery (lead and iron in particular), but there was no tin present, and the readings of the elements present were similar in all samples from all three kilns. The "maiolicas" are in fact lead-glazed without tin oxide, as were all the samples tested from all kilns. Further, more definitive, scientific testing should be carried out before the question of these Athenian glazes is decided.

In fact, in the case of the bowls, there is little difference in shape or decorative technique between those with and without blue glaze; the blue color is an innovation of Athenian potters of the Ottoman period, but we see it used both on yellow- and green-glazed pieces, just as green appears also on the largely blue and white pieces. Bowl 4, with blue glaze applied to a mostly green and yellow decoration, is a case in point. The blue and white pieces lack sgraffito decoration, and pitchers are a more common form among the blue and white pottery than the more traditionally colored green, brown, and yellow pots, but they were all made together in the same kilns at the same time. Pictorial decoration of both glaze-painted sgraffito and blue and white pottery can also be strikingly similar: the rooster on the small painted bowl published by Frantz (figure 4) looks very similar to a rooster decorating a contemporary sgraffito bowl found in the Roman Agora.[22] In Italy, maiolica pottery was increasingly pictorial; Greek imitation maiolicas never moved beyond linear decoration and the occasional bird; essentially the same as the decoration on sgraffito pottery, despite the additional possibilities of the medium of painting.

These two styles of glazed wares therefore represent both a continuation and a break from the styles of the past. Athens in the earlier medieval period was inward-looking when it came to ceramics; imports were quite rare in the Frankish period, when Italian imports became common elsewhere in Greece. Although following the Fourth Crusade, there was Burgundian, Catalan, and Florentine presence in Athens before the Ottoman capture of the city in 1458, the material record, particularly in the Agora, barely indicates this western presence, and the same seems to be true of the Agora during the time these kilns were in production.[23] During the early years of the Agora excavations, the medieval overlay of most of the current area of the Agora was excavated in order to expose the ancient city. The excavations were well, but briefly, documented; what chiefly remains are hundreds of storage tins of pottery excavated during the 1930s, both from Frankish period contexts, and from Ottoman late medieval contexts (i.e., contemporary with material from these kilns). These storage tins yield only rare examples of Italian imports. Islamic imports are only slightly more common.[24] The lack of excavated prototypes for the maiolica imitations is intriguing; although the Athenian blue and white ware is not maiolica, surely it is influenced by maiolicas. The Athenian imitations reflect Italian prototypes of the fifteenth century rather

than eastern: trefoil jugs with glazed exteriors are not shapes that appear, for instance, in Iznik wares.

However striking the types of pottery I present here are, these three kilns bear out an observation Angeliki Charitonidou had already made in her summary of local pottery production in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Athens—that there was no substantive change in the location or type of kilns in Athens during the course of the medieval period.[25] The pottery produced in the Agora kilns varies in style from the pottery of earlier periods, but the difference is color, shape, and decoration.[26] Both blue and white and glaze-painted sgraffitos (and plainer wares) were manufactured in the same kilns at the same time, and all seem to be decorated with lead glaze. The vessels are more carefully shaped and more carefully and consistently decorated than earlier pots, and red and blue glaze on a white background is a new color scheme in Athens. The jugs suggest Italian influence; the inclination to label them as maiolica is because they look like maiolica, and were probably intended to look like maiolica, but Charitonidou accurately described them as "pseudo-maiolica."[27] They do not represent a technological innovation for Athens, but rather are a sign of continuity. Production of and demand for new styles of pottery is perhaps unsurprising in light of the growth in population and the economic prosperity of Athens in the sixteenth century, which Machiel Kiel has demonstrated from Ottoman administrative records.[28] These tax records provide evidence for production of olive oil, honey, wine, and textiles; in turn, Athens imported wheat from more agriculturally fertile areas. Athenian potters may have produced these pots both for sale outside Athens and to satisfy the Athenian market.

As Joanita Vroom has observed, there is a long road ahead in the study of the pottery of this period, and especially needed is information on production centers, kilns, and closed excavated contexts.[29] This article is a small contribution toward filling that need: there is far more that could be done with the material from these and other kilns in the area of the Agora.

NOTES

1. It is with gratitude for the many ways in which I have learned from John Camp (as his student at College Year in Athens and at the American School of Classical Studies, and as a volunteer in the Agora Excavations) that I present this article. My warmest thanks go to the staff of the Agora Excavations, especially Annie Hooton, whose drawings appear here, Jan Jordan, Sylvie Dumont, and Karen Lovén.

2. Frederick O. Waagé, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 2 (1933): 279–328.

3. See, e.g., Joanita Vroom, "Post-Medieval Ceramics as Historical Information," in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, ed. Siriol Davies and Jack L. Davis (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007): 71–93; Vroom likewise identifies these two types of fineware as predominant in assemblages in the Greek mainland.

4. See John K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 201–209 on kilns in Greece; also Eleni Hasaki, "Ceramic Kilns in Ancient Greece Technology and Organization of Ceramic Workshops" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2002).

5. For similar tripod stilts, see Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi, "Τριπόδισκοι ψησίματος των βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών αγγείων," in ΑΜΗΤΟΣ: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο, vol. 2 (Thessaloniki: Aristoteleion Panepistemion Thessalonikes, 1987), 641–652; John K. Papadopoulos, "ΛΑΣΑΝΑ, Tuyères, and Kiln Firing Supports," *Hesperia* 61 (1992): 208–210, plate 49a. Many of the tripods were saved, but it is not clear from the notebooks whether any were discarded.

6. Alison Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," *Hesperia* 11 (1942): 2. Frantz's citation to Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* is incorrect; a reference to the church appears in 3:116 of the 1678 edition (Lyon). Spon gives no description, he merely mentions the church as a landmark for identifying a house with an interesting inscription. Panagia Vlassarou was one of the parish churches of Athens in 1824 (John Travlos, Πολεοδομική εξελίξις των Αθηνών από των προιστορικών χρόνων μεχρί των αρχών του *19ου* αίωνος, 2nd ed. [Athens: Kapon, 1993], 232). The excavation notebook in the Agora archives (section N, pages 614–637) contains a lengthy description and many photographs of the church. Documents and photographs from the Agora archives, including this notebook, are available online at http://agora.ascsa.net/research?v=list&q=vlassarou&sort=&t=. See also Andreas Xyngopoulos, Ευρετήριον των μεσαιωνικών μνημείων, *Α*, Αθηνών, Τεύχος *Β'*, *Τα βυζαντινά* και τουρκικά μνημεία των Αθηνών, Ευρετήριον των μνημείων της Ελλάδος (Athens, 1929), 101 (very brief, with some bibliography).

7. Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," 2.

8. Ibid., 2.

9. Waagé, "Roman and Byzantine Pottery," 325, figure 19g. Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," 1–2.

10. Joanita Vroom, *After Antiquity: Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to 20th Century A.C., A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece*, (Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, 2003), 173, ware 28; Joanita Vroom, "Byzantine Garbage and Ottoman Waste," in *Thèbes: Fouilles de la Cadmée*, vol. 2.2, *Les tablettes en lineaire B de la "Odos Pelopidou", Le contexte archeologique, La ceramique de la "Odos Pelopidou" et la chronology du lineaire B* (Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2006), 187–188 and 216, figures 27–28; Vroom, "Post-Medieval Ceramics as Historical Information," 75, figures 4.5–4.6; Pamela Armstrong, "Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980," *BSA* 88 (1993): 319, no. 202, plate 34; unpublished sherds from the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Survey (personal observation); *Corinth* 11:171–172, figure 153.

11. Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," figure 12, nos. 1, 2; in color: Vroom, "Post-Medieval Ceramics as Historical Information," 75, figure 4.4; Camilla MacKay, "The Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Pottery," in *Art of Antiquity: Piet de Jong and the Athenian Agora*, ed. John K. Papadopoulos (Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006), 284, figure 28.

12. Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," 6, figures 3–5.

13. See Waagé, "Roman and Byzantine Pottery," 316–317, figures 12-13 for illustrations of the glazed wares found in the Agora that precede the pottery under discussion here.

14. Ibid., 319, figure 14 for typical Agora pieces.

15. A bowl with a sgraffito boat on the interior was excavated in a kiln in the area of the Roman Agora: Phoibos D. Stavropoulos, "Ανασκαφαί Ρωμαϊκής Αγοράς," *ArchDelt* 13, Parartema (1930-1931): 4 and 6, figure 6. Another contemporary sgraffito bowl from the Roman Agora has a particularly well-executed rooster: Anastasios. K. Orlandos, "Έκθεσις περί των ανασκαφών Βιβλιοθήκης Αδριανού και Ρωμαικής Αγοράς," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1964): 37–38, figure 70, no. 10 (identified as Byzantine); Konstantina Kokkou-Vyridi, "Συλλογή αγγείων του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1980): 57–58, no. 115. Color illustrations: Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Art of Sgraffito* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1999), 100–101, nos. 115–116 (the boat, and a bowl with a warrior on horseback); also Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, *The World of the Byzantine Museum* (Athens: Ministry of Culture, Byzantine & Christian Museum, 2004), 330–332, nos. 324–327. See Angeliki Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, "Κεραμικά ευρήματα βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής εποχής από την ανασκαφή 'Νοτίως της Ακροπόλεως', 1955-1960," *ArchDelt* 37, A' (1982) [1990]: 137–138, plates 46a-b, 47a for finds from the south of the Acropolis.

16. From Phocis: see Pamela Armstrong, "Some Byzantine and Later Settlements in Eastern Phokis," *BSA* 84 (1989): 19–20 and plate 8, nos. 39–43, 45, in particular. From Boeotia: Vroom, *After Antiquity*, 171–172, ware 26. Probably Armstrong, "Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980," pieces from deposits V and VI (pages 313–325); the fragments and illustrations are too small to be certain. There are also unpublished examples from the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project at ancient Eleon/modern modern Arma (personal observation). Also possibly Chania: Margrete Hahn, "Modern Greek, Turkish, and Venetian Periods: The Pottery and the Finds," in *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania, 1970–1987. Results of the Excavations under the Direction of Yannis Tzedakis and Carl-Gustaf Styrenius.* Vol. 1, *From the Geometric to the Modern Greek Period*, ed. Erik Hallager (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet I Athen, 1997), 180 and plate 78a, color frontispiece; although analysis of 84-P 0099 (illustrated in the frontispiece) indicated fabric consistent with Cretan origins.

17. I am grateful to John Papadopoulos for his confirmation of the identification. On tuyères, Papadopoulos, "ΛΑΣΑΝΑ, Tuyères, and Kiln Firing Supports," 203–221.

18. Tin-glazed earthenwares were first made around the ninth century CE in Mesopotamia, and the technique spread through the Muslim world to Spain and thence to Italy by the twelfth century; see Alan Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in*

Europe and the Islamic World; the Tradition of 1000 Years in Maiolica, Faience & Delftware (London: Faber, 1973) on the history of maiolica.

19. Joanita Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean: 7th to 20th Century; An Introduction and Field Guide* (Utrecht: Parnassus Press, 2005), 148–149. MacKay, "Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Pottery," 284, no. 137.

20. Tin oxide was probably imported from England to Italy, and was expensive; see M. S. Tite, "The Production Technology of Italian Maiolica: A Reassessment," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36 (2009): 2078.

21. M. S. Tite, T. Pradell, and A. Shortland, "Discovery, Production and Use of Tin-Based Opacifiers in Glasses, Enamels and Glazes from the Late Iron Age Onwards: A Reassessment," *Archaeometry* 50 (2008): 69, table 1. The Agora Excavations used a Niton XL3t handheld x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) analyzer; I am indebted to Karen Lovén for her help and advice. The possible maiolica pieces were tested twice and showed no presence of tin. pXRF analyzers are relatively inexpensive and perform non-destructive analysis; results are obtained quickly. While the reliability of the results of pXRF instruments may not be comparable to laboratory XRF analysis, handheld pXRF instruments can be used to answer many archaeological questions. There has been a profusion of articles in recent years on the usefulness of pXRF instruments for identifying provenance of ceramics and obsidian; see Ellery Frahm, "Validity of 'Off-the-Shelf' Handheld Portable XRF for Sourcing Near Eastern Obsidian Chip Debris," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013): 1080–1092 (Frahm used an earlier version of Niton handheld analyzer in the same series as the one in the Agora). The question here was a simple one, of the sort suited to this type of equipment: was tin present?

22. See above, note 15.

23. See Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, vol. 1, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), chapters 16 and 17; Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388*, rev. ed (London: Variorum, 1975), especially chapter 12 for sources on the pre-Ottoman period. Camilla MacKay, "Protomaiolica in Frankish Athens," in "Notes from the Tins: Research in the Stoa of Attalos, Summer 1999," Mark Lawall, et al. *Hesperia* 70 (2001): 178–179, on the lack of western imported pottery in Athens.

24. Vroom ("Post-Medieval Ceramics as Historical Information," 82, figures 4.12, 4.13) states that Iznik and Kütahya wares from Turkey were found in all the deposits she studied from excavations in central Thebes. While not unknown (see Waagé, "Roman and Byzantine Pottery," 326, figure 20 and Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," 16, figure 35), Iznik and Kütahya pottery in Agora deposits are much rarer.

25. Angeliki Charitonidou, "Μορφές μεταβυζαντινής κεραμεικής. Αθηναικά εργαστήρια," Αρχαιολογία 4 (1982): 60–64.

26. See Tite, "The Production Technology of Italian Maiolica," 2077, on pigments and sources for pigments in Italian maiolica.

27. Charitonidou, "Μορφές Μεταβυζαντινής Κεραμεικής. Αθηναικά Εργαστήρια," 62.

28. Machiel Kiel, "Population Growth and Food Production in 16th-Century Athens and Attica," in *Comité international d'études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes,*

6th Symposium, Cambridge, 1st–4th July 1984. Proceedings, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and E. J. van Donzel (Istanbul: Divit Press, 1987), 115–133; Machiel Kiel, "Central Greece in the Suleymanic Age. Preliminary Notes on Population Growth, Economic Expansion and Its Influence on the Spread of Greek Christian Culture," in *Soliman Le Magnifique et son temps : Actes du Colloque de Paris, Galeries nationales Du Grand Palais, 7–10 Mars 1990 = Süleymân the Magnificent and His Time : Acts of the Parisian Conference, Galeries Nationales Du Grand Palais, 7–10 March 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Documentation Française, 1992), 399–424.

29. Vroom, "Post-Medieval Ceramics as Historical Information," 89–90.

11

✣

"There Will Be Blood . . .": The Cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides

Jeremy McInerney

One of the difficulties facing historians and archaeologists when studying the religious systems of the ancient Mediterranean is that religion is Protean: what a goddess and a cult site means to one group of people at one time may be vastly different from what she or it means to others at another (or even the same) time.[1] Generalizations, therefore, are generally suspect. Yet an atomistic approach, reducing all religious phenomena to descriptions of separate gods and goddesses in different places and different times is equally unsatisfactory. In this paper, I propose concentrating on one goddess, Artemis, and one cult spot, the sanctuary at Halai Araphenides, in order to trace the interplay between the general and the specific, to show how concrete developments at particular moments intersect with broader trends in religious practice to produce changes in the religious landscape of Greece. This is a particularly clear cut case of interplay since the cult spot was the site of religious practice as early as the Bronze Age but seems only to have adopted the identity of Artemis Tauropolos, originally a Skythian deity, as late as the mid-fifth century BCE. We will begin and end in Attica, but along the way the goddess will whisk us off to the land of the Taurians, in Ukraine, revealing to us the creative ways in which foreignness could be deployed to bolster Greek identity.

Artemis has long been known to have had a particular affinity to the wilderness. As an incarnation of the Potnia Theron (Mistress of Animals), Artemis is one in a succession of eastern Mediterranean deities associated with hunting, with wild animals, and with the initiation of boys and girls into their roles as full adult members of the community.[2] In Athens, the

goddess was venerated in a sanctuary on the southwestern side of the Acropolis, an urban twin of the goddess' rural sanctuary at Brauron.[3] Dedications from Brauron reveal a goddess associated, as we might expect, with the wild, and with hunting, but also a goddess who oversaw childbirth.[4] Here Artemis was honored every four years at a festival in which girls who had not yet reached menarchy underwent a ritual initiation into the cult of Artemis by playing the role of little bears, *arktoi*. The aition for this cult is preserved in a line from Aristophanes and the scholion accompanying it:

> I played the bear to Artemis at the Brauronia: They performed the secret rite while imitating a bear. The ones playing the bear for the goddess dressed themselves in a yellow robe. Select girls, who were no older than ten and no younger than five, performed together a sacrifice for Brauronian Artemis. The maidens performed the sacrifice in order to propitiate the goddess, since the Athenians had experienced a famine after having killed a tame bear belonging to Artemis. Some say that the story about Iphigeneia happened at Brauron, not in Aulis.[5]

The cult has been interpreted as a classic *rite de passage*, with the girls quitting their social role as children, taking on a new role in the liminal space of the sanctuary, and returning to society in a new social role as girls eligible for marriage.[6]

Seen from Athens, Brauron lies on the periphery, a place that is as far away and as isolated as possible, an ideal location serving as a liminal space. It was not possible for every child to participate in the rites of Artemis; the size of the sanctuary and the infrequency of the festival rule this out. So instead we should interpret the sanctuary as the place where the daughters of leading families were initiated into a cult designed to advertize their availability for marriage.[7] This is borne out by the rest of the choral ode in Aristophanes, quoted above, in which the chorus boasts of its accomplishments in a kind of female *cursus honorum* emphasizing the honors they have won: serving as *arrephoros*, attendants of Athena Polias on the Akropolis, followed by playing *arktos* or little bear for Artemis, until finally serving as *kanephoros* or basket carrier in the Panathenaic procession. In other words, Brauron was a sanctuary used to mark the imminent coming of age of élite women, and the participation in the cult here was a matter of social status.

This interpretation accords well with information gleaned from the inscriptions from Brauron. These preserve details of offerings from women that mark principal life-changes such as the transition from childhood to marriage to motherhood.[8] The most common dedications are women's garments, not children's. In other words, women continued to dedicate votive offerings at the sanctuary long after they had played the bear for

Artemis as children. But the relatively modest number of gifts to the goddess, often no more than twelve to fifteen in one year, suggests that this cult was perhaps as exclusive as it was prominent. In fact many of these garments turn up year after year, ritually handed over in the accounts kept by the priestess of Artemis, even when, as woollen and cotton clothes, they eventually disintegrated.

The combination of textual evidence from Aristophanes and the scholiasts, archaeological evidence such as *krateriskoi* depicting girls racing, as well as the architectural evidence from the sanctuary itself coupled with unusually detailed epigraphic evidence, means that the cult of Artemis Brauronia is well documented and has been closely studied. Less well known is the second Artemis cult in the region, located at Loutsa, ancient Halai Araphenides.[9] Although it lies only six kilometers from Brauron, this second sanctuary is in many ways its antithesis. Unlike Brauron, which was isolated and marginal (at least when seen from Athens), the cult at Halai Araphenides, was located in a medium-sized coastal deme (with an annual bouleutic quota of eight).[10] Evidence of sympotic activity at the site goes back as early as LH III, and in a close study of pottery assemblages from the site Kostas Kalogeropoulos has been able to demonstrate affinities between ritual activity at Halai and Aghios Konstantinos (Late Helladic III A and B), Kalapodi (Late Helladic III C) and the Zeus sanctuary on Mt Hymettos (Sub-Mycenaean and Late Geometric).[11] In the fifth century, ritual feasting and drinking continued, but a change in dedicatory practices, marked by a decline in numbers of *loutrophoroi* and the rebuilding of the temple, have been interpreted by Kalogeropoulos as markers of the emergence of an officially sanctioned state cult of Artemis Tauropoulos.[12] The temple built at this time, however, was of modest proportions and the demesmen of Halai continued to assert control over the cult into the fourth century.[13] Parker is perhaps right to see Halai as "falling on the borderline" of cults benefitting from state involvement.[14]

Yet even if we accept Hollinshead's suggestion that the temple's size reflected Halai's modest finances, the sanctuary did acquire a certain status. In the fourth century, for example, Menander used the festival held here in honor of Artemis, the Tauropolia, as the setting for his *Epitrepontes*. It is at the Tauropolia, in fact, that Charisios rapes and impregnates Pamphile under circumstances that the speaker of the prologue supposes will be familiar to an Athenian audience:

> Last year they both went down to a festival, the Tauropolia,
> That's held in one of the seaside villages. It's a local thing,
> But lots of young people go there from Athens. Why?
> Well, the girls go because the only way they're allowed out
> Is if it's something religious, and the boys go to see the girls.

> Oh, yes, and they all go to drink and dance and listen to music.
> If that doesn't sound religious to you, you don't know Athenians.[15]

So the festival retained a certain rustic charm, but its reputation was also enhanced by the forbidding nature of the goddess worshipped at the Tauropolia. As early as 440 BCE, in Sophokles' *Ajax*, Athenian audiences had encountered this angry and blood-thirsty goddess. The chorus fears that it may be the Tauric Artemis who has driven Ajax mad and caused him to slaughter the Greeks' cattle.

> Was it the Tauric Olympian Artemis,
> (Oh, the dread rumor of woe,
> Parent of my grievous shame!)
> Who drove thee forth to slaughter the herds of the people,
> In wrath perchance for some unpaid-for victory,
> Whether defrauded of glorious spoil, or offerings
> Due for a stag that was slain?
> Or did the bronze-clad Demon of battle, aggrieved
> On him who scorned the might of his succoring spear,
> Plot revenge by nightly deception?[16]

It seems then, that sometime in the fifth century, perhaps around the middle of the century, what was once a rural sanctuary to a goddess of the wilderness began to acquire a new character in which the goddess' associations with distant Tauris became a prominent feature of the cult.

Roughly contemporary with Sophokles' references to the vengeful deity, Herodotos included a full treatment of Tauris in his discussion of barbarian customs. As we shall see, the Herodotean account would provide a template for subsequent references to Artemis Tauropolos, so it is worth examining how Herodotos links the Taurian goddess to the story of the Greek heroine:

> It is the custom of the Taurians to sacrifice to the Virgin Goddess all shipwrecked sailors and any Greeks whom they have captured having come by sea. This is what they do: after performing a preliminary rite, they hit the victim on the head with a club. There are some who say that they toss the body over the edge of the cliff, for their temple is built on a promontory, and impale the head on a stake. Others agree about the head, but maintain that the body isn't tossed off the cliff but is buried. The Taurians themselves maintain that the spirit to whom they make this sacrifice is Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon. When they get their hands on an enemy this is what they do: after they have cut off the enemy's head, they take it home. Sticking it on a long pole they then set it up over the house, usually near the fireplace. They say the heads hanging over it serve to protect the whole house. They live by war and plunder.[17]

A number of elements are immediately striking: as with much of Herodotos' information about the Skythians to the north of Greece, his account stresses the alien and the exotic.[18] Unlike the Greeks they sacrifice humans, and unlike the Greeks they kill the very people who most deserve the formal treatment of *xenia*, or hospitality: those who have been shipwrecked and those who have come over the water and are therefore vulnerable to the elements and chance. Furthermore these anti-Greeks treat the bodies of the dead in a manner that is all the more despicable for being a parody of a religious ritual. Instead of washing and cremating or burying the body they dismember it and then treat it as some hideous apotropaic trophy. Moreover, this is not, like the death of Pentheus, a punishment inflicted by the gods but an entirely human atrocity. Stories told about the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, also associate the region with perverse religious practices. If Medea represents the women of the area, we should hardly be shocked if Herodotos depicts the Taurians as bloodthirsty too.[19] The association of the Taurians with religious practices distinctive for their ferocity persisted. In the sixth-century CE *Periplous of the Black Sea*, for example, the author could still write of the region:

> Some people say that that Iphigeneia came to this part of the Tauric region when she was snatched away from Aulis. The Taurians congregate in large hordes, are committed to a nomadic lifestyle in the borders of civilization, and are, with respect to savagery, murderous barbarians, venerating their gods with acts of utter sacrilege.[20]

Did the Tauric Skythians ever behave so?[21] Despite evidence that the nomads of the steppes did practice head-hunting, scholars have a tendency when faced with such black and white depictions of Greek and non-Greek practices to dismiss the stories as fiction. James Rives has drawn attention to the connection between barbarian stereotypes and cannibalism while Shawn O'Bryhim has suggested that the sacrifice performed by the Taurians is not a record of actual practice, but an invention that draws on Phoenician and Cypriot models of human sacrifice.[22] But before resorting to the unprovable claim that Herodotos made it all up, it might be worth considering the possibility that, whether the stories were true or not, they were stories that Herodotos had heard. The question is from whom? Possibly from the Taurians themselves, but almost certainly from the very sailors who, afraid of shipwreck, brought back tales of the murderous natives who would kill you as soon as look at you, fabricating stories that might or might not have a grain of truth.[23] Such a point of origin explains a lot about the way Herodotos frames his narrative: in effect he says, some of my informants have one version, some have another, but all my informants agree that the Taurians say this is Iphigeneia.

Here we come to the point of connection between the non-Greek material—hazy and irretrievable—and the Greek traditions that had placed Iphigeneia among the Taurians back as early as the Epic Cycle.[24] The Taurian goddess was a Virgin goddess—Herodotos calls her the Parthenos—and it may be that her story involved an episode of rape averted, or self-sacrifice, or sacrificial substitution that permitted the identification of the goddess with Iphigeneia. Such an *interpretatio Graeca*—taking a non-Greek phenomenon and explaining it in terms that made sense from the lexicon of Greek names, gods, ideas and practices—is entirely plausible. Gods from different systems can be assimilated: Herakles and Melqart, Athena and Minerva, not to mention Isis and Serapis who both contain multitudes. But, the earliest traditions concerning Iphigeneia's existence after the sacrifice at Aulis reveal an interesting development: According to Pausanias, "Hesiod in the *Catalogue of Women* represented that Iphigeneia was not killed but, by the will of Artemis, became Hekate," a tradition that was followed by the early Greek lyric poet, Stesichoros. The Hellenistic writer Philodemos claims that "Stesichoros in his *Oresteia* follows Hesiod and identifies Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia with the goddess called Hekate."[25] So in the earliest Greek traditions, Iphigeneia was saved, and then became the dread underworld goddess, Hekate. It follows, then, that between the time of Hesiod and Stesichoros, in the sixth century BCE, and Sophokles and Herodotos, in the second half of the fifth century, the Iphigeneia story had undergone a significant shift. As relations between the Greeks of the Aegean and the people of the Bosporos grew more regular, the exclusively Greek character of the Iphigeneia story gave way to a more complex tale in which Tauris became more fully integrated into the myth-geography of the Greeks. This is the backdrop against which the changes in the cult activity at Halai Araphenides occurred.

By the time of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, produced around 414 BCE, the goddess is not merely from Tauris but has acquired the epithet "Tauropolos," and her cult has a fully developed aition.[26] The play tells the story of how Iphigeneia returns from Tauris having escaped from the outlandish practices that characterize that land. Her rescue will be brought about by her brother Orestes, but at the beginning of the play he has just come ashore, and, just as we would expect from Herodotos, has been arrested and handed over for sacrifice. The text of the play shows unmistakeable signs of the same tradition about the Tauric goddess as found in Herodotos. For example, on seeing the bloody altar in front of him, Orestes turns to his companion, Pylades and they have the following exchange:

ORESTES: And this is the altar dripping with Hellenic blood?
PYLADES: At least the top of it is brown with bloodstains.

ORESTES: And hanging under the edge itself, do you see the spoils?
PYLADES: Yes, the skulls of slaughtered strangers, as an offering.[27]

So instead of *boukrania* we have human heads decorating the altar. And in an even more explicit discussion of the goddess' taste for human blood, Iphigeneia will later say,

When she considers any mortal stained with blood,
If only from childbirth or from contact with a corpse,
She keeps him from her altars, thinking him unclean,
While she herself is pleased with human sacrifice.[28]

Orestes has come here, led by Apollo, not in search of his sister, but, as he complains, because Apollo had so commanded him:

I came to you and asked you how to reach the end
And respite from my headlong madness and the pain
And weariness of wandering all the length of Greece.
You told me to come here, into the Taurian land,
Where Artemis, your sister, has her altar, here
to seize that image of the goddess, which they say
fell once upon this very temple from the sky.[29]

At first it seems as if Orestes and Pylades have been deceived by the god. They are shipwrecked, and in another echo of Herodotos' passage, the herdsman/messenger describes what subsequently happens to them:

But there was another, a rough man, lawlesss and rude,
Who laughed at prayers, said they were shipwrecked mariners
Who had taken refuge in the cave, fearing our custom,
having been told of how we sacrifice outlanders.[30]

At this point, the Taurians storm the two young heroes, and after a brief and bloody fight Orestes and Pylades are captured and brought before Iphigeneia for sacrifice.

Before this, Orestes and Iphigeneia have not recognized each other. Now a recognition scene follows, in which Iphigeneia asks Pylades to take a letter home for her and then gives explicit instructions that it be delivered to her brother Orestes, thus revealing to him her identity. They manage to outwit the local king, Thoas, who, despite his name (Swifty), is actually a little slow. The Taurians are about to organize a counter attack, some to sail after them and others to ambush them as they come ashore, when Athena swings over the stage and declares that Apollo's oracle has brought Orestes here. The god's intention was to help Orestes avoid the

vengeance following him for the death of Klytaimnestra. Now, Athena announces, he must return, taking with him his sister Iphigeneia and the "holy thing" that fell from heaven, namely the sacred image. At this point the play moves from deep myth-time, *in illo tempore*, and reveals that the entire story has forged a link between the imagined past and current cult practice. Athena turns to Orestes and tells him what he must do:

> And now, Orestes, study my commands to you,
> For you, though far away, can hear the goddess speak.
> Proceed, taking the statue with you, and your sister.
> But when you come to Athens the divinely built,
> You will find there is a place in Attica, the last
> Before the border, across from the Karystian mount;
> A sacred place, which is called Halai by my people.
> There found a temple (and install the image there),
> Named from the Tauric land and your wanderings,
> When you labored hard, ranging through the land of Greece,
> Stung by the Furies. People for the rest of time
> Shall sing her praise as Artemis Tauropolos.[31]

The rapid movement from dramatic action to aitiological explanation can be jarring to modern sensibilities but was clearly not so to a fifth century audience. The *Hippolytos* has at least two such myths, and the abrupt ending of the *Eumenides,* when the dreadful pursuit of Orestes by the avenging furies is suddenly resolved by Athena establishing the Areopagos to handle homicide cases, is an even better known instance.[32] In the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Athena has authorized a temple at Halai to be dedicated to Artemis Tauropolos, and the cult statue is to be ensconced there.

Yet it is a very odd and dangerous version of Artemis who is being invited into Attica. This is no mistress of wild animals or helper of pregnant ladies; this is a goddess who before has been angry with the Greeks and has represented the hostility of the non-Greek to the Greek in a foreign land.[33] Isn't it asking for trouble to bring her here? Euripides recognizes this:

> Establish there this custom: at the festival,
> to atone for your uncompleted sacrifice,
> let a sword be held to a man's throat, and blood be drawn,
> for religion's sake, so that the goddess may have her rights.[34]

Just as in the *Eumenides* Aiskhylos saw the institution of judicial arbitration being laid over the older law of retaliation, so too here Euripides sees the festival as retaining some of the primitive power of the old ways ("the old red rite of Artemis" in Gilbert Murray's rich translation[35]), but

updated. Instead of random acts of slaughter, this will be regular; instead of killing all Greeks, the affair will involve only a single person. Instead of killing a human, the throat will be grazed, recalling Iphigeneia's lines: "wretched, I remember my harsh father's knife against my throat." (Eur., *IT*, lines 852-53). Instead of a bloodbath, just a single drop will be spilled. In other words, the cult exactly inverts the Taurian business described in Herodotos.

Lily Kahil has suggested that the ancient cult was considered cruel and was no longer understood, but it is impossible to know whether Euripides' version grows out of a misunderstanding.[36] Nor does it really matter how accurate is Herodotos' description of the Taurian goddess and her rites. In fact, there is more than a hint that Euripides was somewhat sceptical. At lines 40-41 he makes a point of having Iphigeneia explain that she herself does not perform the sacrifice of Greeks, and that the executions are carried out in secret by others, presumably Taurians. He also has Iphigeneia distance the Greek goddess from her barbarian avatar. In an amazing speech Iphigeneia says:

> It is impossible that Leto, bride of Zeus,
> Produced so unfeeling a child. I myself think
> The tale of how Tantalos entertained the gods
> By feeding them his son, is not to be believed.
> I also think these people, being murderous,
> Put off the blame for their own vice upon the gods.
> I do not think any divinity is bad.[37]

The fusion of Tauric goddess with Artemis has now given way to something else: the divinity has been brought into the Greek sphere, but the trope of the seizure of the goddess' *agalma* transforms this into a kind of rescue mission, saving the goddess from the barbarians. Her essential Greekness triumphs over the barbarian qualities, which are folded back onto the Taurians themselves. The cult performance, then, of the single Greek nicked on the neck is interpreted, at least by Euripides, as a recollection of Greek superiority: wiliness blended with piety, in counterpoint to the foreign barbarism of inhospitality and human sacrifice.[38] Of course, the practice authorized at Halai also conforms to a well established pattern of substitute sacrifice, identified by Dennis Hughes as follows: "a set pattern of transgression, plague (or other calamity), oracle, human sacrifice, and abolition of human sacrifice in favour of a less severe ritual."[39] As Hughes notes, the presence of this pattern says nothing for the myth's historical value, but the fact that this pattern is repeated in Greek myth reveals a pre-existing framework into which Euripides and his audience could fit their (mis)conceptions concerning the Thracians.

When did Herodotos' Parthenos become syncretized with the Greek Artemis? Hesychios reports that both Artemis and Athena bore the title Tauropolos, but we would like something a little earlier than a Byzantine lexicographer.[40] Strabo mentions a temple of Artemis Tauropolos on the island of Ikaria, but gives no indication of its age.[41] In any case, in his description of the Tauric Chersonese, Strabo refers to the Parthenos as a *daimon*, possibly suggesting a certain disapproval of a deity worshipped by people whom he felt were no better than pirates.[42] In the first century BCE, Diodorus Siculus refers to Artemis Tauropolos in his account of the customs of the Amazons, which, though hardly trustworthy, probably retains some connection with the earlier non-Greek virgin hunting goddess, a suitable model for the Amazons.[43] We still face many questions: at what point and exactly how did the various traditions concerning the Taurian goddess, a virgin goddess to whom Iphigeneia was assimilated, mutate into a new complex in which the goddess was Artemis and the heroine Iphigeneia was her acolyte?

One phase of this transformation has been studied by Pia Guldager Bilde, who has argued that when the Greek cities of the Chersonese took control of the territory of the Tauri they adopted the powerful Taurian goddess, the Parthenos.[44] This Virgin Goddess was often depicted hunting, and stag imagery was ubiquitous in Skythian art.[45] Since deer and deer hunting were both strongly associated in the Greek imagination with Artemis, this may have been the attribute that led the Greeks who colonized the northern coast of the Black Sea in the sixth century BCE to identify the Taurian goddess with the Greek goddess Artemis. The assimilation of the two is reflected in Euripides' reference to the Taurian goddess as *elaphoktonos*, "deer slaying."[46] How the indigenous people responded to this appropriation of their Virgin Hunter Goddess is unclear, but for the Greeks it was surely advantageous to offer cult to a potentially threatening local goddess according to Greek practices: temples to Ephesian Artemis were popular throughout the Bosporan kingdom in the classical period.[47]

Coins depicting this version of the goddess date to the late fourth and third century BCE and come exclusively from Amphipolis, where Artemis Tauropolos became a tutelary deity of the city, but the process of synthesis may well have been underway for dozens if not hundreds of years prior.[48] Consider, for example the so-called Kelermes mirror found in the Caucasus mountains east of Ukraine and dating to about 570 BCE (Figure 11.1). The panel depicting Artemis, here shown in the upper left side, presents the goddess in a pose identical to that of Artemis on the contemporary François vase, made and signed by the Athenians Kleitias (as painter) and Ergotimos (as potter). Early in the sixth century, any Greek would have identified the figure on the mirror as either the Potnia

Figure 11.1. Kelermes Mirror. Scythian culture. 650–620 BCE.
Photo courtesy The State Hermitage Museum.

Theron or Artemis.[49] So the very first steps go back to the first cultural contact between Greeks and indigenous people as early as the first half of the sixth century. That the Parthenos already had a venerable history in the Black Sea region has also been inferred linguistically. Seventy years ago, George W. Elderkin, drawing on Herodotos 4.117, argued that the etymology of "Parthenos" derived ultimately from the Hittite and meant "man-killer."[50] He concluded that the Skythians took the cult of Taurian Artemis from the Hittites. Even if such etymological arguments are less compelling than their proponents would wish, the Parthenos was an impressive goddess in the eyes of the Greeks. Over time the Greeks living in the Black Sea would come to recognize her unique power. Defenders of Greek towns and forts in the Black Sea swore by Zeus, Ge, Helios, and

Parthenos, and by the third century a certain Syriskos, son of Herakleidas, was honored by the people of the Chersonese for writing a local history in which he not only accurately recounted the philanthropic activities of the cities and the kings, but also carefully recorded the epiphanies of the Parthenos.[51] Through these epiphanies the goddess communicated with important citizens, such as Diaphantos, whom the goddess warned of an impending attack on Chersonesos.[52] Syriskos' father, too, had been honored for managing the affairs of the Parthenos capably.[53] The Parthenos, then, was a valuable goddess who merited the scrupulous attention of the local Greek population. For the Greeks of the Black Sea, the goddess had to be appeased.

For the Greeks of the mainland, her cult served a different purpose. Evidence for Artemis Tauropolos on Greek soil comes from Pausanias: "At some distance from Marathon is Brauron, where, according to the legend, Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon, landed with the image of Artemis when she fled from the Taurians; leaving the image there she came to Athens also and afterwards to Argos."[54]

Apparently Iphigeneia was not content to stay in Tauris but at some point was supposed to have fled back to Greece, bringing with her the cult statue of Artemis. The statue, that tangible link with the divine and the focal point for a cult site, became the centerpiece of the story, so much so that others claimed the cult statue had migrated to their territory.[55] Pausanias continues:

> The place named Limnaion (Marshy) [in Lakedaimonia] is sacred to Artemis Orthia (Upright). The wooden image there they say is that which once Orestes and Iphigeneia stole out of the Tauric land, and the Lakedaemonians say that it was brought to their land because there also Orestes was king. I think their story more probable than that of the Athenians. For what could have induced Iphigeneia to leave the image behind at Brauron? Or why did the Athenians, when they were preparing to abandon their land, fail to include this image in what they put on board their ships? And yet, right down to the present day, the fame of the Tauric goddess has remained so high that the Kappadokians dwelling on the Euxinos [Black Sea] claim that the image is among them, a like claim being made by those Lydians also who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis.[56]

It seems that this was a well-traveled image, and that many places vied to take credit for having it on their territory. This deserves some exploration. After all, in the ancient Mediterranean it was not necessary to identify a particular cult statue in order to claim a connection between a god and one's territory. Apollo can be associated with Delphi, where he slew the serpent, and Delos, where he was born. Zeus can deliver oracles through the whispering of leaves at Dodona, can sit in his temple

at Olympia, can claim Crete as his birthplace and can be remembered for having descended in a thunderbolt to the Acropolis at Athens. So why should there be such interest in claiming that this specific statue of Artemis was located in this or that territory? How was this different from simply claiming that the goddess, known by one *epiklesis* or another, was associated with their land?

The answer, surely, lies in the particular function served by Artemis Tauropolos, not simply as the fusion of Greek and Skythian deities in Ukraine, but as a new and rather dreadful goddess on Greek soil. Her duality, a mixture of what was recognizably Greek and what was disturbingly foreign, provided a useful analogy for the transitional status of the young men who travelled to Halai to worship her. They too were not quite one thing or another, not yet recognized as fully adult, fully male or fully Greek.[57] Herodotos equates the Parthenos with bloody, anti-Greek habits, sacrificing hapless Greeks who land on foreign shores. The Herodotean and Euripidean accounts draw on sailors' stories told about Skythia and its fierce hunter goddess, who clearly frightened plenty of Greeks. The Black Sea was known to the Greeks as the Pontos Euxinos, the "kindly sea," and Stephanie West has recently shown that this is a classic example of a euphemistic name, because the Greeks habitually referred to the unfriendliness of the region.[58] It was *axeinos*, inhospitable. It had few natural ports, no islands to provide shelter in an emergency, and it was prone to storms and bad weather.[59] The weather and the cool reception one could expect to get remained closely linked in the minds of Greeks from the south who made their way towards Olbia and the other Greek cities of the north coast. This was dangerous territory and placating the gods in such places was serious business. Artemis as the Taurian goddess, therefore, like Iphigeneia as Hekate, stands for the threat of the unknown and the dangers of hostile territory.

But a question remains: how does this decidedly foreign version of Artemis get picked up in mainland Greece? It seems from Euripides as if the Athenians were commanded to give this northern virgin hunter a place, which is not in itself remarkable, but the choice of Halai, on the coast of eastern Attica seems, frankly, random, especially when considered in the light of other instances of the adoption of gods from foreign lands. Not much later the Romans would evoke Aphrodite from Erice in Sicily and offer her a new home in Rome. Similarly they would bring the Magna Mater from Pessinus in the kingdom of Pontus to Rome, yet both goddesses ended up in Rome itself, not on the borders. One could also cite the official reception of Asklepios in Athens by Sophokles and the Athenians in the 420s, though again this looks as though a very specific context was involved. Athens had been hit by the plague and Asklepios, a healing god, offered some respite from this. What of Artemis Tauropolos? She

is not benign or friendly. She does not signal Athens' acquisition of new territory. So under what circumstances would the Athenians be inclined to adopt this goddess? And why place her sanctuary out on the coast?

One context would be a growing interest on the part of the Athenians in Tauris. Increased contact, resulting from more Athenians sailing more often to Ukraine, might understandably result in an urge to propitiate the goddess by giving her a home on Attic soil, thereby connecting the two regions. Paradoxically, the dynamic behind this syncretism is a desire to acknowledge the goddess' remoteness while at the same time bringing her within the Greek orbit.[60] Such a policy makes very good sense in the second half of the fifth century, when Sophokles and Herodotos were writing, and may have become especially pressing around the time when Euripides' *IT* was produced, in 414 BCE, because this was the very period when Athens was coming to rely on grain from the Black Sea for the city's survival.[61] It used to be argued that Athens' reliance on Black Sea grain went back to Archaic times, even to the early sixth century, and that the Athenian presence in places like Sigeion, under Phrynon, and in the Thracian Chersonese under Miltiades marked attempts by the Athenians to control the grain route. More recently Peter Garnsey has argued convincingly that Athenian involvement in the Black Sea was opportunistic and adventurous in these early days, but not part of a systematic grain strategy.[62] Yet by the fourth century, the Athenians were heavily reliant on northern grain. In his speech *Against Leptines*, Demosthenes asserts to the jury that they all know that Athens consumes more imported grain than anyone else, and that the grain imported from the Black Sea equals the volume of all other imported grain combined.[63] Similarly, a law from the mid fifth century reveals the anxiety felt by the Athenians with respect to their grain supply: "It shall be unlawful for any Athenian or any alien resident in Athens or any person over whom they have control, to lend money on any vessel which is not going to bring to Athens grain or the other articles specifically mentioned."[64]

The Athenians carefully cultivated relations with rulers in the Bosporos, negotiating favorable terms for their own merchants, enjoying the expansion of port facilities and rewarding the Bosporan ruler, Leukon, with honorary citizenship. Fear of losing this steady supply motivated policy. In *On the Crown,* for example, Demosthenes talks about the way that Philip used the *sitopompeia* through the Hellespont as a way of exerting pressure on the Athenians, and in 340 BCE he seized two hundred Athenian ships, creating consternation in Athens. By the middle of the fourth century the Athenians were as reliant on imported grain as modern states are imported oil.[65] So, there had to have been a point at which the Athenians both came to rely on northern grain and realized they were reliant on it. They experienced the equivalent of the oil crisis of the 1970s,

a turning point after which everyone was aware that the city's food supply depended on the Black Sea.

The most likely time for this change of outlook was during the Peloponnesian War. Perikles had famously urged the Athenians not to take on any other major campaigns and to rely on their walls for protection. Even if the countryside were ravaged, their ships would keep the city supplied. He may have had Euboia in mind, but the annual invasions by the Spartans, and later the establishment of a Spartan garrison at Dekelea made it virtually impossible for the Athenians to guarantee a homegrown supply of grain. When better than to forge fresh connections with the Tauric Skythians? Alphonso Moreno has recently suggested that the increase in the grain trade resulted in a strengthening of royal power in the Bosporan kingdom.[66] The recasting of the goddess at Halai as Artemis Tauropolos may shed light on the Athenian response to the same increase in trade. Bringing Artemis Tauropolos to Attica was an assertion that the Tauric goddess was as much at home among the Greeks as in the Chersonese. In this respect, the making of the cult at Halai Araphenides as specifically a cult honoring the northern goddess Artemis Tauropolos is parallel to the Athenian adoption of the cults of Bendis and Sabazios, two Thracian deities who were formally introduced into the religious life of Athens in the second half of the fifth century. Indeed, as Christopher Planeaux has recently shown, the Athenians were more than willing to import deities from the regions where they did business and by the end of the century were actively encouraging Thracian votaries to organize festivals, processions and sacrifices.[67] Bendis, for example, received the high honor of a full hecatomb, and Sokates, in the opening chapter of the *Republic*, comments on the fine display put on at the first festival in the Piraeus held on her behalf.[68]

Euripides' aetiological treatment provides a convenient point of entry for the Tauric goddess into the full web of Greek myth, yet the version in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* does not explain every element of the story, in particular the epithet of the goddess: Artemis Tauropolos. What exactly does this mean? The *epiklesis* has two elements in it: *tauro-* and *-polos*. The first element seems quite clear, yet is not. It comes from the Greek word for bull, *tauros*, but since the cult is associated with the Taurians, the people of Ukraine, it is not immediately clear whether the name derives from a connection with bulls, or whether it derives from an association with Tauris and the Taurians, and that the bull connection is already embedded in the toponymy and ethnonym.[69] Etymology need not equal explanation.[70]

In order to understand the bull component in the epithet "Tauropolos," some have turned to the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis in Hellenistic Macedonia.[71] Coins from the city show a bust of Artemis on one side and a female figure astride a bounding bull on the other.[72] This figure

on the bull is often identified as Artemis Tauropolos but none of the coins so identified carries this epithet.[73] In fact, when an Amphipolitan coin actually labels an image as TAUROPOLOS, it almost certainly depicts the cult statue, not the goddess on the back of a bull.[74] I would suggest that these coins have Artemis on one side and Iphigeneia on the other, and furthermore, that the pose of Iphigeneia is modeled on the well-known figure of Europa on the back of the bull. This twinning of the goddess and the heroine occurred in the cult of Artemis at Brauron, where Iphigeneia was supposedly buried, and was a feature of the cult of Hera as well: Io was mourned at the Argive Heraion.[75] When the reverse of a coin shows a figure astride a bull, the legend reads *Amphipolitôn*, a coin *of the Amphipolitans*, and does not designate the figure as Artemis Tauropolos.[76] So the numismatic iconography is both complex and terse. The coins employ generic scenes of a heroine on the bull's back yet distinguish between this episode and the images of the goddess and her statue. This suggests that by the Hellenistic period the Iphigeneia episode was a well established part of the story of Artemis' travels through the area. Perhaps the Amphipolitans latched on to the story since it allowed them to stake a place for themselves between the Greek cities to the south and the trade zone opening to the northeast. But regardless of their reasons for claiming the Tauropolos cult for Amphipolis, it seems that the people of Amphipolis had found a way of making sense visually of the epithet, Tauropolos, by connecting it with a known trope of the heroine on the back of the bull. A similar phenomenon seems to have occurred at Brauron. Two plaques from the Artemis sanctuary have been identified as Artemis Tauropolos and interpreted as a reference to the nearby sanctuary at Halai, but Brauron was also the site of Iphigeneia's tomb and offerings depicting the heroine who had been whisked off to the Black Sea are just as appropriate a dedication at Brauron as are depictions of the goddess on a bull.[77]

We turn to the *–polos* element for help. It is usually thought that this element comes from the Greek verb πολέω, which can mean either "to go about," or "to range over an area." It can also mean "to plough."[78] This has lead to vague suggestions that the epithet could mean anything from "Artemis who wanders through the land of the Taurians," to "Artemis who is drawn by a yoke of bulls," to "Artemis who hunts bulls." The problems with these interpretations outweigh their strengths. Goddesses, for example, do not meander through territory aimlessly. As Silvia Montiglio has recently shown, the gods have journeys; they rarely wander.[79] Second, Artemis is never depicted riding in a wagon or chariot yoked by bulls. Rather, she either rides on the back of a deer, or in a chariot pulled by deer. If "Tauropolos" refers to the goddess' favorite mode of transportation then we could expect some iconographic reference to it. And the representations of her riding a bull, as we have seen, are more

likely a reference to Iphigeneia being spirited away, not to the goddess. Finally, the bull-hunting meaning is difficult to derive from the *–polos* suffix since when the suffix is used to suggest a secondary activity other than riding or wandering it refers to plowing. Plowing and hunting are not interchangeable meanings.

A more fruitful interpretation would suggest that the second element in "Tauropolos" derives from the meaning "to revolve," more familiar from the noun associated with this verb.[80] A *polos* in Greek can be a vault, like the vault of heaven; it can be the pole, as in the north pole or south pole, that is the axis on which the heavens turn, and by extension, it can be the orbit of a star, that is, the trajectory followed by a star or a constellation of stars across the heavens.[81] Read this way, the epithet Tauropolos would not refer to any of the opaque and peculiar activities attributed to the goddess, but instead to the first appearance of the constellation Taurus at the time of the vernal equinox, when the bull begins its ascent into the night sky.[82]

For the Greeks, as for the Babylonians before them, the zodiac was both an astronomical phenomenon subject to observation but also a set of signs subject to interpretation. In the *Phaenomena* Aratus states:

> Between the Tropics a Belt, peer of the grey Milky Way, undergirds the earth and with imaginary line bisects the sphere. In it the days are equal to the nights both at the waning of the summer and the waxing of the spring. The sign appointed for it is the Ram and the knees of the Bull—the Ram being borne lengthwise through it, but of the Bull just the visible bend of the knees.[83]

The rising of Taurus marked the spring equinox, a piece of star lore that the Greeks may well have acquired from the Babylonians.[84] Nor should this surprise us. One of the most visible star clusters observed by the Greeks was the group known as the Hyades, who, according to Hyginus, were so called "because they bring rain when they rise, for to rain is *hyein* in Greek."[85] In other words, the heliacal setting of the Hyades, a cluster on the edge of Taurus, marked the onset of the rainy season, which coincides with our month November. Another constellation closely associated with Taurus is that of the Pleiades, whose appearance marked the beginning of the sailing season. A false but revealing etymology even linked their name to the verb πλέω, to sail, and Roman astrologers inherited this connection: describing the setting of the Pleiades, Firmicus Maternus claimed "those who happen to be born [at this time] will die in a shipwreck."[86] There is evidence that the Pleiades were one of the oldest astronomical markers known in Europe. The Nebra sky disk, for example, from Saxe-Anhalt in Germany, is dated to about 1600 BCE and clearly shows the sun, moon and Pleiades.[87] Similarly, the Mulapin tablet preserves a Babylonian

astronomical compendium going back at least to 1000 BCE in which the night sky is divided into recognizable constellations including Taurus, and in which the heliacal rising of the stars and the motion of the sun along its ecliptic are carefully charted.[88] So it comes as no surprise that the Greeks too had this knowledge of the sky and associated it not with regnal periods and horoscopes as did the Babylonians, but with activities such as sailing.[89] In the *Partheneion*, for example, Alkman refers to the rising of Pleiades as announcing the season of plowing, while Hesiod saw the setting of the Pleiades as a sure sign that the sailing season was over, unless you were seized by a desire to be tossed about by storms.[90] The Pleiades were only one of a number of groups of stars whose motions were increasingly familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century. In the prologue to the *Agamemnon*, the Watchman famously claims to know when the constellations rise and set, and James Pfundstein has recently demonstrated that Aiskhylos' references to the Pleiades in the play are more than ornamental devices: the Pleiades set even as the constellation Leo reaches its zenith. The lion, referring both to the constellation and to Agamemnon, looms over Troy. Here observable astronomical events (and the Pleiades set in March 458 BCE just before 8:00 p.m.) provide an analogue to the action of the play, in which Agamemnon's fortunes will soon be eclipsed.[91]

Evidence for a direct correlation between astronomy and navigation is not hard to find. In the *Odyssey*, for example, Homer describes Odysseus guiding his raft while he watches the Pleiades and the Bear (Arktos):

> For this [star] Kalypso, the beautiful goddess,
> Had told him to keep on his left as he crossed the sea.[92]

Among the Presocratic philosophers, Thales was particularly associated with *astrologia.* He may have composed a *Nautical Astronomy.*[93] Kirk and Raven speculate that Kallimachos' reference to Thales measuring the little stars of the Wain, "by which Phoenicians sail", may mean that he "drew the attention of Milesian sailors to its navigational usefulness."[94] Euripides, in the *Ion*, describes the tapestry that served as the roof of a tent:

> The Pleiades were moving midway through the heavens
> And sword-bearing Orion too, while high above
> Arktos turned her golden tail around the Pole.
> The circle of the full Moon shot out her beams on high
> As at mid-month, and the Hyades were there,
> Safest sign to sailors . . .[95]

Theokritos, too, links sailing to the appearance of a specific constellation, in this case Haedi:

A lovely sailing to Mytilene awaits Ageanax
When the Kids are in the evening sky
And a south wind drives the waves.[96]

In a description of ships caught by storms Theokritos refers to them as "defying the stars that set and rise in heaven."[97] Seneca was familiar with the same association. Describing the time before men sailed the seas, Seneca says, "They could not yet any read the sky and use the stars with which the heavens are spangled; not yet could ships avoid the rainy Hyades; not yet did know the fires of the Olenian Goat."[98]

When Greek and Roman authors applied their inherited knowledge of the heavens to interpreting the geography of their expanding world, they associated the bull with Skythia, as does Manilius, writing during the principate.[99] Chorography of this sort was fashioned from mythology and astronomy as much as from experience.

This astronomical explanation for an interest in Taurus, however, seems to have taken us a long way away from the Athenian cult of Artemis Tauropolos. What possible connection could there be between the observation of the rising of the constellation of Taurus and the grain trade between Greece and Ukraine? The answer lies in ancient navigation: to get from Greece to Tauris one had to sail across the Aegean, up the Hellespont and across the Black Sea. Because of conditions in the Aegean, there are only a few periods when a northeast crossing was feasible. The Greeks were aware of the need for careful timing on these Black Sea voyages, as is shown by the contract, preserved in Demosthenes, between Androkles and Nausikrates, investors, and the merchantmen Artemon and Apollodoros. The interest agreed to by the two parties was 22.5 percent for conveying a shipment of wine from northern Greece to Ukraine, but there was a penalty, raising the interest to 30 percent, if the merchantmen failed to leave Pontus by mid-September, thus exposing the return cargo to the danger of late summer storms.[100] In fact the association between the voyage to Pontus and summer sailing can be traced back to Pindar, who refers to Xenokrates of Akragas sailing to the Phasis in the summertime but sailing to Egypt in the winter.[101]

In addition to seasonal weather, currents also made planning the Black Sea run more tricky than Aegean sailing: a current flows down the Hellespont at an average of three knots, while at the Bosporos the Black Sea can pour into the narrower body of water at up to six or even seven knots.[102] Accordingly, the area is only navigable from the southwest to the northeast at those times of year when there is a wind capable moving a ship faster than the prevailing current, a wind such as the Argonauts caught, allowing them to enter "the swift current of the Hellespont, named for the maiden daughter of Athamas."[103] It was these same conditions, in

fact, that nearly killed Lord Byron in 1810. Arriving from Malta, Byron's ship, the Salsette, dropped anchor outside the Dardanelles, awaiting a favorable wind for the run up to Istanbul. During the lull, Byron tried swimming across the channel in April and nearly died.[104] Even once in the Black Sea, the sailor is still subject to two quite contradictory surface currents, the western and eastern gyres: the western gyre turns counterclockwise and the eastern moves clockwise, making deep water navigation extremely difficult for those trying to reach the northern coast of the Black Sea. In fact, there is only a narrow channel between the two currents that will allow the merchant to navigate across open water from south to north without running all the way along the coast. The Greek city of Sinope is located almost exactly at the southern entrance to this channel, and guards the point from where one would begin a straight shot north to the Chersonesos peninsula. Unlike coastal trade, or cabotage, which could hug the coast at anytime, the voyage to the far edge of the Black Sea required precise timing, a knowledge of winds and currents and an accurate way of determining the sailing season.[105] For all these reasons, Taurus was the sailor's friend, as Ovid, who was familiar with conditions in the Black Sea, recalls when he says: "When darkening twilight ushers in the night, the whole flock of Hyades is revealed. Taurus' face gleams with seven rays of fire, which Greek sailors call Hyades from their rain-word."[106]

There is no evidence that the Greeks ever produced a detailed, written compendium of astral lore, nor is it likely that the Greeks read the stars and currents with the same degree of the skill as the great Polynesian navigators of the Pacific, but it is very apparent that the Greeks paid attention to the skies, particularly as a way of determining propitious times at which to begin the lengthy and dangerous journey to the Black Sea. As contact between Tauris and the Aegean increased during the sixth and fifth centuries, sailors brought back stories of a dreadful Virgin Hunter goddess. She was assimilated to the Greek goddess Artemis, and the Greeks used the story of Iphigeneia's rescue as a way of incorporating the edge of Skythia into the myth-geography of the Greeks, in much the same way as the journeys of Herakles to the west also rendered Greek journeys to Spain, France and Italy into a narrative form that gave the experience a shape and meaning.[107] The final stage of this cult transformation came with the identification of the goddess as Artemis Tauropolos, in Euripides' version, a Taurian goddess rescued and made Greek, but also Tauropolos because sailors looked to her, in the guise of the bull, for a sign that it was safe to set sail for distant Tauris. These complex associations resonated with other polarities in the dialectic of Greek space. Wilderness and civic space were thought of as opposites, and it is not uncommon for maritime cultures to cast the sea as an opposite of the land in very simple,

not to say crude, terms. If the civic space and cultivated land of Greece had been tamed by the hands of men, then what lay beyond was in some ways its opposite: non-Greek, barbarian, bloody, threatening, the abode of the goddess of the wilderness, Artemis.[108]

By now, it should be clear that behind the epiklesis of Artemis Tauropolos there is a complex evolution of associations and references. As Greek and non-Greek came into contact in faraway lands, anxieties about local populations, a desire to appropriate a foreign goddess and make her Greek stimulated the mutation of this polymorphous goddess. Like Herakles in the western Mediterranean, she served as the point of mediation between Greek and alien, framing the contact zone of the Black Sea as a place threatening to Greeks but potentially propitiated by incorporation into the world of Greek, rather than barbarian, ritual. Behind this lies seamen's lore about when to sail to the distant land of the Taurians. But myth and ritual exist in a fluid and open relationship. These factors may help to explain the development of the cult in the late fifth century, but they do not exactly explain what function the cult served. A cult is a social performance that is always more than just the story of either its real or putative origins. The cult at Halai Araphenides actually goes back to the Mycenaean period, although there is no evidence of the identity of the god or goddess was who received cult back then. Perhaps it was Artemis. But if Brauron was coming to serve as a satellite of Athens, the goddess receiving cult on the Acropolis as well as at Brauron, then so too was Artemis at Halai now a goddess (thanks to Euripides?) whose cult served all of Attica. If Brauron was mainly for girls, Halai was primarily for boys. The coast is a nicely liminal region: facing the sea on one side and the interior on the other. With the connotations of Tauric wildness, the cult was ideal as a setting for the initiation that marked the coming of age of young men, whose initiation took place in this marginal setting.[109] Just as the coast is neither the sea not the interior, so too the initiate is neither child nor man. Here is where the youth goes in order to be exposed to the danger of shedding blood, and to learn that this danger must be contained.

One of the performances that marked the coming of age of young men was the *pyrrhiche* or Pyrrhic dance, that was performed on the occasion of the Panathenaia.[110] We have evidence of a *pyrrhiche* competition also being held at Halai Araphenides, where a certain Philoxenos was honored as *choregos* of the *pyrrhiche*, and Paola Ceccarelli has plausibly suggested that the war dance was performed on the occasion of the Tauropolia festival.[111] The *pyrrhiche* appears to have been a stylized war dance that pitted a team representing the Athenian hero, Melanthos, against the Boiotian hero, Xanthos.[112] The ritual thus linked defining borders with young male rites of passage in a form familiar to us from the Athenian institution of

the *ephebia*, the Athenian institution of military training that put young men doing their first military service on border patrol on the outskirts of Athens. Similarly, on neighboring Euboia in the fourth century, *Pyrrhichistai* are associated with the cult of Artemis Amyrusia, who seems to be referred to as the "wild *parthenos*," examples of the close association of this goddess of the wilderness with the initiation of young warriors.[113] Still, it is easy to draw sharp distinctions where reality was more complex: Hugh Lloyd-Jones drew attention to the similarities of the Brauron and Halai cults, noting that both involved blood flow, menarchy for girls, wounds for boys, and applied a structuralist reading to the data. Girls went through the arkteia ritual, shed their clothes, wore saffron and were transformed into women, first nymphai then gynaikes, while the boys witnessed a symbolic wounding and performed as ephebes, in the first stages of assuming their identities as Athenian men. We might want to nuance this somewhat; boys figure in the reliefs from Brauron and there is remarkable evidence of female pyrrhichistai, so rather than being strictly complementary male and female cults Brauron and Halai look more like reflections of one and other, or, if you like, variations on a theme, pushing transitional rites to the edge of Attica.

The initiation of young men into the ranks of the adult through a blood ritual was taken up in the other place in Greece that claimed to have the statue of Taurian Artemis: Sparta. Having reported that the Spartans claim the statue of Artemis Orthia is, in fact, the image stolen by Orestes, Pausanias goes on to describe the actions that took place at the altar of Artemis Orthia, a goddess whose taste for blood was attributed to her Tauric background. The rite described by Pausanias involved considerably more blood shed than the Athenian custom:

> The Spartan Limnatians, the Kynosourians, and the people of Mesoa and Pitane, while sacrificing to Artemis, fell to quarrelling, which led also to bloodshed; many were killed at the altar and the rest died of disease. Whereat an oracle was delivered to them, that they should stain the altar with human blood. He used to be sacrificed upon whomsoever the lot fell, but Lykourgos changed the custom to a scourging of the lads, and so in this way the altar is stained with human blood. By them stands the priestess, holding the wooden image. Now it is small and light, but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds the image grow so heavy that she can hardly carry it. She lays the blame on the scourgers, and says that it is their fault that she is being weighed down. So the image ever since the sacrifices in the Tauric land keeps its fondness for human blood.[114]

It has recently been argued that the ritual described by Pausanias is not ancient at all. Graf suggests, for example, that the floggings associ-

ated with Artemis Orthia were first mentioned by Cicero, and argues that they were a Hellenistic addition to an earlier *agon* at the altar between two teams trying to steal cheese.[115] Similarly, Kennell has proposed reading the floggings as part of a "studied creation of the Hellenistic period" rather than as an authentically Archaic practice.[116] However, Xenophon, who surely deserves the benefit of the doubt on Spartan social practices, describes blows raining down on the cheese thieves, and even if Roman Sparta witnessed a more theatrical performance for the entertainment of tourists, the tradition was hardly invented from whole cloth.[117] What is most fascinating about this association between the goddess' foreign origins and the blood shed in her honour on Greek soil is that, as Pausanias' final comment shows, the connection persisted: everyone realized that there was something alien about Artemis' bloodthirstiness. A final discussion of the scourging done in her honor, preserved in Philostratus' life of Apollonius, written in the third century, may help to explain its attraction. Asked by an Egyptian sage whether it is true that the Spartans submit to these public beatings, Apollonius answers:

> It is not the scourging but the sprinkling of the altar with human blood that is important, for the Skythoi too held the altar to be worthy thereof; but the Lakedaimonians modified the ceremony of [human] sacrifice because of its implacable cruelty, and turned it into a contest of endurance, undergone without any loss of life, and yet securing to the goddess as first fruits an offering of their own blood.
>
> "Why then,' said the other, "do they not sacrifice strangers right out to Artemis, as the Skythoi formerly considered right to do?"
>
> "Because," he answered, "it is not congenial to any of the Greeks to adopt in their full rigour the manners and customs of barbarians."[118]

Thanks to their reliance on Black Sea grain, the Athenians became increasingly familiar with the world of the Taurians. Though the Taurian goddess never lost her savage nature in the eyes of the Greeks, that very savagery itself became a marker of the transition to adulthood. Her foreignness helped create Athenian identity.

NOTES

1. In addition to thanking John Camp for his teaching and friendship of more than twenty years, I wish also to acknowledge the kindness of Kostas Kalogeropoulos who shared his deep knowledge of the site of Halai Araphenides with me. The endotes include references to two unnpublished lectures of Dr Kalogeropoulos, who presented material from his study, Τὸ 'Ιερὸ τῆς Αρτέμιδος Ταυροπόλου στις Ἅλες Ἀραφηνίδες (Λούτσα), which has recently appeared in the publications

of the Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία. Versions of this paper were read at Brooklyn College, at the 2008 meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group and at the ICS in London as part of autumn 2010 seminar on Religion and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East. I thank the organizers of these events for their generosity and the audiences for their lively discussions of the paper.

2. Nanno Marinatos, *The Goddess and the Warrior* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

3. Ioannis D. Kontis, "Ἄρτεμις Βραυρωνία," *ArchDelt* 22.1 (1967): 156–206; Petros G. Themelis, *Brauron: Guide to the Sanctuary and the Museum* (Athens: Apollon, 1973); Jannis Mylonopoulos, and Friederike Bubenheimer, "Beiträge zur Topographie des Artemision von Brauron," *Archäologische Anzeiger* (1996): 7–23; Petros G. Themelis, "A Contribution to the Topography of the Sanctuary at Brauron," in *Le orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, ed. Bruno Gentili and Franca Perusino (Pisa: ETS, 2002), 103–116 and 223–232; Erik Østby, "Twenty–Five Years of Research on Greek Sanctuaries: A Bibliography," in *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches*, ed. Nanno Marinatos and Robin Hägg (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 208–209.

4. Susan Guettel Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004), 198–230.

5. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 645 et schol. For a discussion of the passage in Aristophanes and problems associated with "playing the bear" see Mary W. Walbank, "Artemis Bear-Leader," *Classical Quarterly* 31.2 (1981): 276–281. For the aitiological myth of the killing of Artemis' bear see also *Suda*, s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις**.**

6. On the rites at Brauron as an example of initiation ritual see Lily Kahil, "L'Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystère," *Antike Kunst* 20 (1977): 86–98; Susan Guettel Cole, "The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation: the Koureion and the Arkteia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 55 (1984:) 233–244; Ken Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989); Claudia Montepaone, "Artemis Taurica a Brauron," in *Lo Spazio del Margine. Prospettive sul femminile nella comunità antica* (Rome: Donzelli, 1999), 13–34; and Nanno Marinatos, "The Arkteia and the Gradual Transformation of the Maiden into a Woman," in *Le orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, ed. Bruno Gentili and Franca Perusino (Pisa: ETS, 2002), 29–42 and 207–209; but for skepticism see Christopher A. Faraone, "Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis: Female Initiation or Substitute Sacrifice?" in *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives,* ed. David B. Dodds and Christopher A. Faraone (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 43–68.

7. On participation limited to aristocratic families see Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), 140. Contra, see Erika Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 86.

8. *IG* 2^2.1514–31. See in general Tullia Linders, *Studies of the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia found in Athens* (Lund: P. Åström, 1972), and more recently Liza Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, Ltd, 2005).

9. Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), 208–209. For a useful summary of the torturous history of the Loutsa temples, which have never been systematically excavated, and the associated finds, which have never been properly published, see Eftychia Bathrellou, "Menander's *Epitrepontes* and the Festival of the Tauropolia," *Classical Antiquity* 31 (2012): 151–192.

10. On the modest status of Halai, see Robin Osborne, *Demos, the Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 46.

11. Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos, "The Cult of Artemis Tauropoulos at Halai Araphenides" (lecture, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, March 2008). For a fuller account now see Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos, Τὸ Ἱερὸ τῆς Αρτέμιδος Ταυροπόλου στις Ἅλες Ἀραφηνίδες (Λούτσα) (Athens: Publications of the Athens Academy, Vol. 71, 2013), 153–155. For possible connections between Kalapodi and Artemis Tauropoulos also see Anna Palme-Koufa, "Die Graffiti auf der Keramik," in *Kalapodi. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*. Vol. 1, *Die spätmykenische bis frühprotogeometrische Keramik*, ed. Rainer C. S. Felsch (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 271–331, n. 53. For an overview of the site's archaeological history see http://www.archetai.gr/site/content.php?artid=124.

12. Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis Tauropolos in Halai Araphenides. Kultbetrieb in einem attischen Grenzheiligtum" (lecture, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Erlangen, Germany, June 2007).

13. Mary Hollinshead, "Against Iphigeneia's Adyton in Three Mainland Temples," *AJA* 89 (1985): 436. For different reconstructions of the temple see John Travlos, "Τρείς ναοί της Αρτέμιδος Αυλίδας Ταυροπόλου και Βραυρωνίας," in *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern : Internationales Symposion in Olympia vom 10. bis 12. Oktober 1974, anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier der Abteilung Athen und der deutschen Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, ed. U. Jantzen (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1976), 197–205; and Heiner Knell, "Der Tempel der Artemis Tauropolos in Lutsa," *Archäologische Anzeiger* 98 (1983): 39–43. On the demesmen of Halai running the Tauropolia festival see Phoibos D. Stavropoulos, "Τιμητικὸν ψήφισμα Ἁλῶν τῶν Ἀραφηνίδων," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (*Chronika*, 1932): 30–31.

14. Robert Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 58.

15. Men., *Epit*. 27-34, trans. Sallie Goetsch, "'Family Values:' Menander's Epitrepontes Reconstructed," http://www.utexas.edu/courses/classicalarch/readings/epitrepontes.html.

16. Soph., *Aj*. 172-181, trans. R. C. Trevelyan, http://classics.mit.edu/Sophocles/ajax.html.

17. Hdt 4.103.

18. On Herodotos' "rhetoric of alterity" see François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), and for a nuanced discussion of Herodotos's sense of "otherness" in Book 4, see David Chamberlain, "We the Others": Interpretive Community and Plural Voice in Herodotus," *Classical Antiquity* 20 (2001): 5-34. On the fusing of myth and geography in Herodotos see James Romm, "Herodotos and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119 (1989): 97–113.

19. For various versions of the Jason story and the Greeks' imaginative response to conditions in the Black Sea, see Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners. Seafarers and Seafighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 55-60.

20. Author's translation, from *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 12 v13–19, Aubrey Diller, ed., *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, PA: American Philological Association, 1952).

21. For the view that Herodotos' account is based on fact see Gerhard Herm, *The Celts: The People who Came out of the Darkness* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 105. See also Božidar Jezernik, "Head-Hunting in Europe," *Ethnologia Europaea* 31 (2001): 21–36.

22. On Barbarian stereotypes and cannibalism see J. Rives, "Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians," *JRS* 85 (1995): 65–85. For Phoenician and Cypriot human sacrifice see Shawn O'Bryhim, "The Ritual of Human Sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*," *Classical Bulletin* 76 (2000): 29–37 and John S. Rundin, "Pozo Moro, Child Sacrifice, and the Greek Legendary Tradition," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123 (2004): 425–447.

23. For scepticism regarding Herodotos' autopsy of the Black Sea, see O. Kimball Armayor, "Did Herodotus Ever Go to the Black Sea?" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978): 45–62.

24. For versions of the Iphigeneia story prior to Herodotos see Procl., *Chrestomathia* 1 (*Cypria* frag. 1); Hes., *Cat*. frag. 71; Stesichoros, frag. 71. An Aiskhylian trilogy also told the story of her escape to Tauris.

25. Paus. 1.43.1, trans. William H. S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961). Phld., *On Piety*.

26. On cult *aitia* see Fritz Graf, *Greek Mythology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 110–118.

27. Eur., *IT* 72–75. This and the following quotations are taken from Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, ed. and trans. Richmond Lattimore (New York: Oxford Univerity Press, 1973).

28. Ibid., 373–76.

29. Ibid., 82–88.

30. Ibid., 267–70.

31. Ibid., 1420–1431.

32. Clara M. Smertenko, "The Political Sympathies of Aeschylus," *JHS* 52 (1932): 233-235.

33. William Allan, "Religious Syncretism: The New Gods of Greek Tragedy," *Classical Philology* 102 (2004): 116, notes that the Chorus refers to Artemis Tauropolos as "Diktynna of the mountains," "emphasizing (for an Athenian audience) the remoteness of the Taurian Artemis."

34. Eur., *IT* 1489–1491.

35. Euripides, *The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides*, trans. Gilbert Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1910)

36. *LIMC* 2:2.3.b s.v. Artemis (Kahil)

37. Eur., *IT* 377–383.

38. On the long tradition of contrasting Greek civilization with barbarian savagery, especially in the Black Sea region, see David Asheri, "The Achaeans and the

Heniochi. Reflections on the Origins and History of a Greek Rhetorical Topos," in *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1998), 265-286. For concerns over divine and human justice see Maria Serena Mirto, "Salvare il γένος e riformare il culto. Divinazione e razionalità nell'Ifigenia Taurica," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 32 (1994): 55-98.

39. Dennis D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 90.

40. Hsch. s.v. Ταυροπόλαι.

41. Strabo 14.1.19.

42. Strabo 7.4.2.

43. Diod. Sic. 2.46.

44. Pia Guldager Bilde, "Wandering Images: From Taurian (and Chersonesean) Parthenos to (Artemis) Tauropolos and (Artemis) Persike," in *The Cauldron of Ariantas, Studies Presented to A.N. Ščeglov on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday. Black Sea Studies* 1, ed. Pia Guldager Bilde, Jakob Munk Højte and Vladimir F. Stolba (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 165–183; Pia Guldager Bilde, "Quantifying Black Sea Artemis: Some Methodological Reflections," in *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*, ed. Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2009), 303-332; and Barbara Burrell, "Iphigeneia in Philadelphia," *Classical Antiquity* 24.2 (2005): 223–256.

45. Max Loehr, "The Stag Image in Scythia and the Far East," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 9 (1955): 63–76. On the syncretism of Greek and Skythian deities see Esther Jacobson, *The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia: A Study in the Ecology of Belief* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1993), 216.

46. Eur., *IT* 1113.

47. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, "Greek Colonization of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, and Native Populations," in *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1998), 36.

48. Maxime Collignon, *Manual of Mythology, in Relation to Greek Art*, trans. Jane E. Harrison (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1890), 99–100; Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 592. For a later series from the Macedonian Republics after the battle of Pydna, see Martin J. Price, "Recent Acquisitions of Greek Coins by the British Museum," *Archaeological Reports* 20 (1973-74): 69. For epigraphic attestations of Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis, see Angelos Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inscriften* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1988), 299–300.

49. Yulia Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom. Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999), 110.

50. George W. Elderkin, "Oitosyros and Oiorpata," *American Journal of Philology* 56 (1935): 342–346.

51. Oath: *IOSPE* 1².401; *IOSPE* 1².344 (*FGrH* 807 T.1). See Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker*, 300-301, and Ivana Petrovic, *Von den Toren des Hades zu den Hallen des Olymp. Artemiskult bei Theokrit und Kallimachos* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 160.

52. *IOSPE* 1².352 records the honors paid to Diaphantos at the festival of the Partheneia, after the goddess appeared to him and revealed an imminent attack

on the city. He was crowned during the *pompe*, his statue erected by the altar of the Parthenos on the acropolis.

53. *IOSPE* 1².343, lines 5–6. For other epigraphic evidence for the cult of the Parthenos see *IOSPE* 1².353.

54. Paus. 1.33.1.

55. Alice A. Donohue, *Xoana* (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1984), 27-34, although the image is referred to in the plural (*xoana*), and as Donohue shows, the term at this point normally means "carving" but not necessarily "statue". The reference at Eur., *IT* 1359 is "the only time in all extant tragedy that it has this meaning." (page 33) For the iconography of the statue see *LIMC* 2:2.3 s.v. Artemis (Kahil), although Kahil acknowledges that depictions of the statue on vases may not accurately reflect a specific cult statue.

56. Paus. 3.16.7.

57. Nanno Marinatos, "Goddess and Monster: An Investigation of Artemis," in *Ansichten griechischer Rituale: Festschrift W. Burkert,* ed. Fritz Graf (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1998), 114–125, argues that the harsh and bloody Greek Artemis is influenced by Near Eastern models, in contrast to local, kindly versions. I am arguing less for a conventional understanding of "influence," which configures the process as externally driven and more for active manipulation by the Greeks of those aspects of the goddess that were both foreign and threatening. On the connection between this foreign cult and male initiation in Greece see Fritz Graf, "Das Götterbild aus dem Taurerland," *Antike Welt* 10 (1979): 33–41.

58. Stephanie West, "'The Most Marvelous of All Seas;' The Greek Encounter with the Euxine," *Greece and Rome* 50 (2003), 151–167. Even so, the trip to Pontos was remarkably cheap, costing only two drachmas according to Plato, *Grg.* 511d.

59. Strabo 7.4.3 refers to the furious storms from the north that scoured the coast of Tauris, while at the other end of the Black Sea, Salmydessos was fronted by shoals that stretched for 700 stadia and offered no harbour. See Pseudo-Skymnos, *Periegese* 724–29.

60. Allan, "Religious Syncretism," 116.

61. David Braund, "Black Sea Grain for Athens? From Herodotus to Demosthenes," in *The Black Sea in Antiquity. Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen and John Lund (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2007), 52–53.

62. Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 97.

63. Dem. 20.31. Demosthenes puts the volume of the Black Sea imports at 400,000 *medimnoi* p.a.

64. Dem. 35.51.

65. For the fourth-century grain trade see Takeshi Amemiya, *Economy and Economics of Ancient Greece* (London: Routledge, 2007), 80-81.

66. Alfonso Moreno, "Athenian Wheat-Tsars: Black Sea Grain and Elite Culture," in *The Black Sea in Antiquity. Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen and John Lund (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2007), 82, speaks of "an oligarchic grain supply sustaining a professedly democratic state." For other indications of changes in settlements and power in the Black Sea,

especially in the Don delta, see Ortwin Dally, et al., "Die Griechen am Don—Ergrbnisse der deutsch-russischen Ausgrabungen in Taganrog und Umgebung," *Archäologische Anzeiger* 124 (2009): 73–119.

67. Christopher Planeaux, "The Date of Bendis' Entry into Attica," *Classical Journal* 96 (2001): 176. See also Robert S. J. Garland, *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 99–113. The theme of Artemis as a divinity with marine associations especially fitting for transcultural mediation has been developed with great finesse by Barbara Kowlazig, whose article complements this essay (Barbara Kowalzig, "Transcultural Chorality. *Iphigenia in Tauris* and Athenian Imperial Economics in a Polytheistic World," in *Choral Mediations in Greek Tragedy*, ed. Renaud Gagné and Marianne Govers Hopman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 178–210. I thank Professor Kowalzig for sharing her work with me.

68. Plato, *Resp*. 1.327a.

69. For the Tauri, see Alexander Leskov, "Die Taurer," *Antike Welt* 11 (1980): 39-53. On the etymological confusion see Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*, 89.

70. Bilde, "Quantifying Black Sea Artemis," 305, notes that "Tauropolos" is never mentioned in Chersonesean sources and concludes "we can be certain that the Chersonesean deity was *not* Artemis Tauropolos."

71. Ioannes Papastavru, *Amphipolis; Geschichte und Prosopographie* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1936), 38–52. For epigraphic confirmation of the cult of Artemis Tauropolos in Amphipolis see Klaus Bringmann and Hans von Steuben, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer: Zeugnisse und Kommentare* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 177 (KNr.: 110).

72. Ernest Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, vol. 2, *Description historique*, part 4, *Comprenant les monnaies de la Grèce septentrionale aux Ve et IVe siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907), 1086–1115.

73. See *LIMC* 3: nn. 702-704, s.v. Artemis (Kahil).

74. Nikola Moushmov, *Ancient Coins of the Balkan Peninsula*, trans. Denitsa Genkova, Dave Surber and Slavei Theodore Slaveev, 1912 [2003], www.wildwinds.com/moushmov/index.html, n. 6010. Other coins showing the statue are 6075 (unlabeled) and 6085 (Amphipolitôn). The cult statue is also shown standing on the outstretched hand of the goddess in the coins of Gallienus. See SNG von Aulock 6770. At a presentation of this paper to the ICS in London, some members of the audience believed that the bull was shown with a human face and proposed identifying this as the river god, Strymon. If so, the nymph on his back might be the unnamed Muse who, violated by Strymon, gave birth to the local hero, Rhesos. See Jennifer L. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 173.

75. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," *JHS* 103 (1983): 87-102.

76. Moushmov, *Ancient Coins*, nos. 5979, 6008, 6035, 6042, 6045, 6046, 6047, 6052, 6054, 6063, 6070, 6071, 6097, 6099.

77. Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon, ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝ. *Die Tonstatuetten aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Brauronia. Die frühen Statuetten* (Athens: Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Athen, 2009), 247 with plate 97, nn. 649-650. As on the coins of Amphipolis, the female figure is more likely Iphigeneia. For references and discussion, see *LIMC* 2: nn. 700-701, s.v. Artemis (Kahil). For the suggestion, implausible in

my view, that the epithet "tauropolos" and the imagery of the maiden or goddess on the bull's back derives from a type of ship, otherwise completely unattested, known as the *tauropolos*, see Catherine Lecomte Lapp, "Grues, étoiles et taureaux: images de navigation antique," *L'Antiquité Classique* 72 (2003): 21.

78. *LSJ* s.v. πολέω.

79. Silvia. Montiglio, *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

80. LSJ s.v. πολέω 1.2

81. *LSJ* s.v. πόλος (1–4).

82. On the association of Taurus with the vernal equinox see Roy Andrew Miller, "Pleiades perceived: MUL.MUL to Subaru," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 1-25.

83. Aratus, *Phaenomena* 511–17, trans. Alexander W. Mair and Gilbert R. Mair, *Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams, Lycophron, Aratus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921).

84. On correspondences between Babylonian constellations in the Mulapin and Greek constellations see Bartel L. van der Waerden, *Science Awakening*, vol. 2, *The Birth of Astronomy* (Leiden: Noordhoff International, 1974), 74. See also Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 19. For Greek recognition of Babylonian astronomy see Arist., *Cael*. 2.12.

85. Hyg. *Fab.* 192.

86. Firm. Mat., *Mathesis* 8.7.4.

87. Harald Meller, "Die Himmelsscheibe von Nebra – ein frühbronzezeitlicher Fund von außergewohnlicher Bedeutung," *Archäeologie in Sachsen-Anhalt* 1/02 (2002): 7–30.

88. Hermann Hunger, and David Pingree. *MULAPIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (Horn, Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Gesellshaft, 1989).

89. Sabine Beckmann, "The Mystery of Taurus—Knowing the Way: Possibilities for Astronomical Knowledge in the Bronze Age," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 91 (2005): 55–68.

90. Alkman, *Partheneion* 60-64. That Alkman really was comparing the girls of the chorus to the stars was convincingly argued by Anne P. Burnett, "The Race with the Pleiades," *Classical Philology* 59 (1964): 30–34. For discussion of various attempts to elucidate the astronomical context of the poem see Charles Segal, "Sirius and the Pleiades in Alcman's Louvre Partheneion," *Mnemosyne* 36 (1983): 260–275. For similar associations between chorus and the movement of heavenly bodies see Gloria Ferrari, *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 80–81, in which she discusses the chorus of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* wishing to follow the course of the sun back to Greece. Hes., *Works and Days* 618-620. On the nautical calendar see Pietro Janni, *Il mare degli antichi* (Bari: Dedalo, 1996), 107–122.

91. For the Pleiades and Leo, as well as starmaps showing the location of Taurus and other constellations in the mid-fifth century BCE, see James M. Pfundstein, "Aeschylus, Astronomy and the *Agamemnon*," *Classical Journal* 98 (2003): 397–410.

92. Hom., *Od.* 5.276–77.

93. For sources and discussion see Geoffrey S. Kirk, and John E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 83–85.

94. Callim., *Ia*. 1.52, frag. 191. See Kirk and Raven, *Presocratic Philosophers*, 82.

95. Eur., *Ion* 1152–57. For astronomical readings of Greek myth, drama and iconography see Burnett, "Race," 30-34, and Ferrari, *Alcman*.

96. Theoc., *Id*. 7.52–54.

97. Ibid., 22.8-9.

98. Sen., *Med*. 311-14, from Seneca. *The Tragedies of Seneca*, trans. Frank J. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907).

99. Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.744–56, from Marcus Manilius, *Astronomica*, trans. George P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977). See Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, 180–181.

100. Dem. 35.10–13. See Casson, *Ancient Mariners,* 105–107.

101. Pind., *I*. 2.39–42.

102. Jamie Morton, *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 42 and 88. For ancient discussion of the fast current out of the Black Sea see Polyb. 4.38–42; Strabo 13.1.22; and Ael., *NA*. 7.24.

103. Ap. Rhod., *Argon*. 1.926. The need for a southerly wind to beat the current is mentioned as early as Pind., *P*. 4.202-205. On Greeks entering the Black Sea see Rhys Carpenter, "The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *AJA* 52 (1948): 1–10; Benjamin W. Labaree, "How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea," *AJA* 61 (1957): 29–33. Subsequent discussion has concentrated on the dating of the Greek "penetration" of the Black Sea, an issue with which I am not concerned here. The current of fresh, less dense water at the surface actually conceals a second, denser, more saline current flowing back into the Black Sea, but this had no effect on Greek navigation. See Morton, *Role of the Physical Environment*, 37.

104. Ben Oschel Bridgers, *Swimming the Hellespont* (Fairfield, CT: AuthorHouse, 2002), 6.

105. Mikhail V. Agbunov, Античная лоция Чёрного моря (Moscow: Nauka, 1987).

106. Ov., *Fast*. 5. 164–7, from Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. Anthony J. Boyle (London: Penguin Books, 2000).

107. For Greek conceptions of the Black Sea region see Maya Vassileva, "Greek Ideas of the North and the East," in *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (Stuttgart: F, Steiner, 1998), 69–77.

108. For landscape and gender see Jeremy McInerney, "Parnassus, Delphi, and the Thyiades," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 38.3 (1997): 263–283; and Cole, "*Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space*," 21–29.

109. On the association between Artemis Tauropolos and the suspension of ordinary conditions see Graf, "Das Götterbild," 41.

110. Sources and modern discussion summarized by W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 61–62, n. 189.

111. Stavropoulos, "Τιμητικὸν ψήφισμα," (Philoxenos); Paola Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana: Studi sulla danza armata* (Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1998) (*pyrriche*). See also Anemone Zschätzsch,

Verwendung und Bedeutung griechischer Musikinstrumente in Mythos und Kult (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2002), 72.

112. Paola Ceccarelli, "Dancing the *Pyrrhiche* in Athens," in *Music and the Muses*, ed. Penelope Murray and Peter Wilson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 91–118.

113. *IG* 1^3.9.191. A1, lines 58–59 (*pyrrhichistai* and Artemis Amyrusia); *IG* 13.9.1190 (*pyrrhiche* and *parthenon agroteran*). On Artemis and warrior initiation see Marinatos, *Goddess and Warrior*, 105–109.

114. Paus. 3.16.7.

115. Graf, *Greek Mythology*, 115. For a structural reading of the episode less attuned to historical periods see Jean-Pierre Vernant, "The Figure and Functions of Artemis in Myth and Cult," in *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 205.

116. Nigel M. Kennell, *The Gymnasium of Virtue and Culture in Ancient Sparta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 79.

117. Xen., *Lac*. 2.8–9.

118. Philostr., *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6. 20, from Philostratus and Eusebius, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, The Epistles of Apollonius and the Treatise of Eusebius*, trans. Frederick C. Conybeare (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1912).

12

Homage and Abuse: Three Portraits of Roman Women from the Athenian Agora

Lee Ann Riccardi

This study examines three Roman female portraits discovered in the Agora excavations conducted under the direction of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.[1] It offers a full publication of the heads,[2] investigates their original context and meaning, and attempts to reconstruct the circumstances under which they were deposited. Although they differ in date and were found in separate secondary contexts, they share some basic similarities that allow them to be considered together.

All are lifesize and exhibit features and hairstyles specific enough and fashionable enough to suggest that they were meant to represent particular women rather than goddesses. Their hairstyles allow their dates of production to be determined with confidence, but their original contexts remain unknown. Because they were all found in the Agora excavations, however, it is likely that the portraits were originally displayed somewhere in the public space of Athens and were originally honorific portraits of aristocratic women, probably benefactors or family members of benefactors to the city of Athens. The heads can thus be interpreted within the existing framework of Roman female honorific sculpture, and, despite their damaged condition, they can be shown to represent traditional, idealized women of the elite social class. At the same time, all three portraits were found in Byzantine levels, two of them utilized as building material in medieval constructions, and the third mixed in the fill of an abandoned storage pithos. Their findspots and the nature of their treatment suggests that they were deposited intentionally by Christians in an attempt to exorcise what were perceived as lingering 'pagan' spiritual forces.

Publications of Roman portraits from Athens typically treat them at face value—that is, the focus is on their appearance, primarily accomplished by using stylistic analysis in order to establish chronology or identity. Rarely are Athenian portraits of the Roman period considered in terms of the display of public honor, exchange, power, and influence that were regular features of life for wealthy aristocrats outside of Rome who desired public recognition.[3] Nor has much attention been paid to the re-use or destruction of these portraits once they were no longer needed for their original purposes.[4] By calling attention to these issues, this study, therefore, aims to move beyond a focus on portraits as individual objects and to interpret them in broader socio-political, cultural, and religious contexts for both the periods of their primary use and their secondary re-use.

THE PORTRAITS: DESCRIPTION AND DATING

S 2303

This portrait, of an unknown woman, was found in 1970 in a storage pithos in mixed twelfth- to thirteenth-century medieval fill (Figures 12.1 and 12.2). The head is approximately life-size (P.H. 0.26m, W. 0.14m, Th. 0.21m). The face is badly abraded with little of the original surface remaining on the front, although surfaces are preserved on the sides of

Figure 12.1. Agora S 2303.
Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies: Agora Excavations.

Figure 12.2. Agora S 2303.
Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies: Agora Excavations.

the face and in the area under the eyes. The forehead, eyebrows, and bridge of nose are all too deteriorated for analysis, and the nose itself is completely missing. The mouth is also missing but for two small holes that remain to show where the corners of the lips came together. The head was cut under the chin so that almost nothing of the neck remains and it is therefore not possible to determine the original angle of the head. A long, thin, irregular line was gouged into the left side of the face from the hairline nearly to the lower edge of the jaw. A large chip is missing from the coronet of hair on the right side above the eye and from the curl over the right part of the head. The marble is extremely yellow on the surface but, characteristic of Pentelic, where it has been chipped it is a vivid white, and large crystals are visible in these areas. Traces of dirt and mortar are present on the right side. Some bright yellow discoloration is visible on the underside of the chin along the break as well as at the bottom of the center part on both sides of the head.

At least some of the damage to this head must have been deliberate. The break below the head is clean, revealing that it was probably severed from the neck with one precise blow that resulted in its decapitation. The eyes have been partially gouged out, and the clean surfaces of the corners of the eyeballs, the sides of the nose, and the face under the orbital sockets suggest that this was an intentional action.

The principal tools used to carve the head were the chisel and point, and virtually no drilling can be found anywhere on the entire piece. The

eyes are small and almond-shaped with enough surface left to determine that the pupils and irises were not incised. A thin drill channel was used to delineate the upper lid from the area under the brow, and the upper lid from the eyeball. Perfunctorily articulated tear ducts are present at the inner corners of the eyes. The upper lid overlaps with the lower at the outer corner, indicated by thin parallel lines, angling slightly inward on the right. The eyeballs are flat on the surface but bulge out in the same plane as the edge of the lids.

The face is very round, with the cheeks and chin creating an almost pure circle. Almost no facial modeling is present. Some original surface remains on the sides of the cheeks; it is smooth and no facial bones were articulated. The ears are fully exposed and were carefully formed.

The hairline at the peak of the forehead is weathered and unclear but it is possible to determine that the locks of hair along the hairline curve gently along the sides. The hairstyle is quite elaborate, and in good enough condition to be readily understood, especially from the rear and profile views. The face is framed on both sides by thick strands of wavy hair cascading from the central part and tucked behind the ears, then formed into narrower, less plastically carved braids that meet at the center part in the back of the head. The rest of the hair is indicated by lightly carved thick strands rendered plastically but not incised. On the top of the head, behind the front portion of the hair, is a large, wavy loop, several inches thick, asymmetrically arranged and carved into two deep and nearly parallel diagonal wavy lines that extend from bottom right to top left and indicate strands. Clear incised channels separate this loop of hair from the coronet of braids behind it and the wavy hair below it on the left side. No channels are present on the right, and in fact the marble is carved in such a way to suggest that this loop of hair has all been pulled up from the right side. A prominent part is visible in the center back of the head and all the hair is suggested to meet at this point and be swept upward into a thick tight coronet of braids, rendered in a nearly geometric pattern with five separate braids indicated on the surface. The hairstyle on the back of the head consists of braids from the front that have crossed over the central part and meet below the coronet. The right braid crosses on top of the left. A pair of holes was drilled on the left and back and the remains of a similar pair are visible on the right, now eroded to one long channel. This may have been intended for the insertion of a headdress or a separate hairpiece.

The hairstyle on the top of the head is difficult to reconstruct because of the poor state of preservation. It probably was arranged as a center braid with plastically rendered strands lightly indicated curving out from the back toward the sides. The braid coronet protrudes higher at the back than the front and the braids are sculpted at an angle to emphasize this

difference. A small lock of hair escapes in front of either ear and creates a slight decorative addition, sketchily rendered on the left but more plastically articulated on the right. All the rest of the hair is shown pulled up, although since the top of the neck is missing, the bottom of the hairline is as well.

No exact parallel for this hairstyle could be found, but it is clearly a variant of the 'tower' styles popular in aristocratic Roman circles in late Trajanic and early Hadrianic times, like, for example, the one worn in portrait of an anonymous woman in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (Figure 12.3).[5] Both hairstyles display similar complicated configurations consisting of a series of braids swept up tightly from the neck and wrapped around the head. They are distinguished from styles popular earlier in the Trajanic period because the hair in the front around the face is crimped loosely into waves rather than drawn into a complex "tower" of hair, and they are unlikely to be much later because the braids are wrapped around the entire circumference of the head rather than pulled into a bun at the top, as was typical of late Hadrianic or early Antonine portraits. The lack of drilling and eyeball incision also point to an earlier date. Therefore this head must have been made around 115-125 CE or slightly later, allowing for a certain lag of styles devised in the imperial circles of Rome to become adopted in Athens.

Figure 12.3. Capitoline Inv. 181.
Photos from www.arachne.uni-koeln.de Left: FittCap81-18-06_16310,03. Right: FittCap81-18-10_16310,05.

S 3423

This portrait was found in 1992 (Figures 12.4 and 12.5). It was turned upside down and built into a Byzantine wall.[6] It too is approximately life-size (H. 0.25m, W. 0.216m, Th. 0.26m). The head is in good condition overall with the original surfaces largely preserved except on a few highly visible portions of the face: the nose, chin, and central portion of the mouth. It was broken irregularly across the neck, so that only a tiny portion of the neck remains on the left side, with somewhat more present on the right. The chin appears directly over the center of the neck, indicating that the head was not turned to either side. The surface of the marble is yellowish gold, although, typical of Pentelic, white where the surface has been damaged.

The head appears to have been deliberately defaced. The eyes must have been intentionally damaged, because nearly all of the surfaces of both eyeballs are scratched out and eroded, but the eyebrow ridges, which project outward more than a centimeter beyond the eyeballs, are intact (except for a missing chip on the outer edge of the left brow). The outward surfaces of the cheeks likewise have not been touched. These features suggest a deliberate attack on the eyes, and quite likely, on the other missing facial features as well. A major blow from a blunt instrument could have struck the center of the face and broken off most of the nose, the center of the lips, and the chin. The break across the neck is also

Figure 12.4. Agora S 3425.
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies: Agora Excavations.

Figure 12.5. Agora S 3423.
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies: Agora Excavations.

smooth and even, suggesting a considered, deliberate decapitation of the head from the neck and shoulders.

The forehead is smooth and flat with only a slight trace of a gentle ridge sloping outward to the brows. The eyebrows are sharply ridged, and the intact right eyebrow widens gradually outward. The left outer edge is broken but was probably handled in a similar way. Gentle incisions were used to indicate the eyebrow hairs. A drill channel separating the lids from the brows varies in width, with the thickest part along the inside corner of the eyes. The upper lids are thick and large and cover the top part of the pupil and iris, which are indicated by depressed round circles for the pupils and incised lines to show the edges of the irises. The lower lids are thinner than the upper, with drilled channels separating them from the eyeball. Tear ducts are prominently indicated at the inner corners.

The cheeks are gently modeled with a few small scratches and gouges visible but otherwise in very fine condition. The planes dip softly under the eyes, and the cheekbones are gently articulated with the cheeks themselves broad and smooth with little surface detailing. The nose continues the line from the eyebrows but is softened a little at the bridge. The nostrils were indicated with visible drill channels, not too deep or thick, around the bulbous part. The lips are mostly missing but the corners of the mouth are intact. This is the area where the most sensitive handling by

the sculptor can be seen. The corners of the mouth were made by a shallow drill channel that turns upward at the end. The lines from the nose are soft planar surfaces, not linear at all. The chin is broken.

The shape of the hairline at the top is arranged in a patterned, completely unnatural manner. The hair is roughed out at the back with a very large prominent bun, subdivided into sections. The central part serves as the starting point for a series of crimped ridges that cover the head and overlap the ears. On the right several ringlet curls protrude below the hairline along the neck. These may have been meant to indicate natural hair escaping beneath an elaborate wig.[7] Several incised lines on the front and lower part of the right side of the hair indicate strands. These become rougher further back from the face and eventually disappear altogether by the midline of the back, where the surface is worked over with a point but otherwise left rough. These drill channels are much less prominent on the left side. The left side likewise lacks the detailed curls protruding from the cap of hair as on the right, although some hair is indicated to suggest it has also escaped from the rest. No hair strands are shown on the bun, and only irregular and fairly improbable lines divide the hair into sections to give the appearance of being woven together. The bun also has a rigid cookie cutter edge around the right side and the top that smoothes to a more gentle and natural curvature on the left. A small lip

Figure 12.6. Capitoline Inv. 661.
Photos from www.arachne.uni-koeln.de Left: FittCap69-91-07_3915, 09. Right: FittCap69-91-10_39157,12.

at the bottom right of the bun protrudes outward, but because it was irregularly broken, it is unclear what it is supposed to represent. The back of the head is so unskillfully carved that it was probably not meant to be seen, and may even have been sculpted by a different hand, perhaps a workshop apprentice.

This hairstyle presents a fairly close version of the woven bun style of the Severan era, such as the one worn on a portrait of an anonymous woman in the Capitoline Museum (Figure 12.6).[8] Details such as a curl escaping on the side of the neck, the large size of the bun, and the nature of the interwoven strands are common to both portraits. The date of this portrait, then, must be approximately 200-210 CE.

S 3425

This portrait is a badly weathered head found in 1993 built into a Byzantine rubble buttress[9] (Figures 12.7 and 12.8). It too was found upside down. As with the other two, the head is approximately lifesize (P.H. 0.267m, W. 0.21 m, Th. 0.22 m). None of the original surface is preserved. It is broken in various areas, with two large sections missing from the back of the head, and the surface is encrusted with surface dirt and vegetal matter in places. Large patches of discolorations are visible on the right side of the neck, the back of the head on the right, and on the left

Figure 12.7. Agora S 3425.
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies: Agora Excavations.

Figure 12.8. Agora S 3425.
Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies: Agora Excavations.

side above the ear. The facial features are extremely weathered. A lightly visible channel separates the hair from the brow, forming a narrow forehead. The eye sockets are fairly deep although no details of the eyelids or eyeballs remain, but the eyes were not large in relation to the rest of the head. No brows remain either although depressions on both sides of the face next to the sockets show that the artist understood something of facial bones. The nose and lips are too badly eroded for analysis, and the mouth is narrow with small cavities at each corner. The cheeks are broad and purely regular in their curvature. The neck was broken irregularly close to the bottom of the head, but the chin appears to be centered so the figure would have been frontally oriented. Weathered holes reveal the location of the ears and their lobes. Most of the top and back of the ears would have been covered by the hair. It is impossible to determine if any of the damage to the head was deliberate.

The hair consists of curly bangs along the forehead and extending down to the ears. The hair is then divided into a series of braids, approximately twelve or thirteen in number, which were pulled up to the top of the head and then forward nearly to the forehead. Enough incisions indicating the braids remain to reveal that they covered the entire surface of the hair.

Although the specific details of the hairstyle cannot be discerned because of weathering, parallels for the general outlines of the coiffure reveal it is a variation of the 'top-braid' style, seen on portraits of Roman

women beginning in the third quarter of the third century. Examples include a head in the Capitoline (Figure 12.9)[10] and a portrait in Izmir.[11] All three portraits have long hair divided into a series of braids, which were then pulled up, folded over, and attached to the top of the head near the crown, in a manner similar to the Agora head. While portraits from earlier in the third century wore similar styles, in the earlier versions, the braided section was attached further back on the head and did not come as far towards the forehead as in these later examples. The Agora head, therefore, probably dates to the last quarter of the third century or perhaps even the early fourth century.

This was a difficult time for sculptural production in Athens. The Herulian invasion of 267/268 caused widespread destruction of the city, particularly in the Agora.[12] In the aftermath of the catastrophe, production of public portrait statues dramatically diminished, and most sculptural activity in Athens ceased for several decades. A few statue bases, however, show that some limited production of portrait statues still continued, even in the years immediately following the destruction, and thus corresponding to the likely date of Agora S 3425. Honorary inscriptions on three well-known statue bases date to the early years after the invasion. *IG* 2/3².13263 and *IG* 2/3².13264 were inscribed on two different bases that held statues of Claudius Illyricus, the Proconsul of Achaia. Both

Figure 12.9. Capitoline Inv. 339.
Photos from www.arachne.uni-koeln.de Left: FittCap69-89-06_39139,04. Right: FittCap69-89-08_39130,06.

inscriptions date the portrait statues to 270-290. *IG* 2/3².13273, also found on a statue base, honors Publius Herennius Dexippus, the Athenian resistance leader, and was erected by his children sometime after 270.[13] Besides the statue bases, several scholars have dated a few surviving Athenian portraits to this period.[14] Some portrait statues, therefore, were made even directly after the Herulian invasion, and Agora S 3425 could have been one of them.

The damage to the surface of the portrait is too extensive to determine if any deliberate action was taken to deface the image, and the irregular break at the neck, while suggesting a violent decapitation, gives no indication of whether it was an intentional or accidental act. The findspot of the head, however, suggests that religious reasons may have been the motivation for its placement in the rubble buttress.

ROMAN HONORIFIC PORTRAITS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

During the Roman era, portraits of individuals decorating the public space of cities around the empire were plentiful, and would have been erected for a variety of reasons. Many portrait busts and statues commemorated individuals for their gifts and services to a city. These honors were intended not only to be an indication of gratitude, but also, by their visibility, to encourage further acts of generosity from others. In the Roman period, many cities simply could not function without donations from their citizens, and the award of a statue was a way to inspire even more generous benefactions from even more people. Statues also served as sources of pride for a city, functioning essentially as a public portrait gallery of its notable citizens. Images on public display in civic centers were therefore part of the regular system of honors awarded to important officials or generous benefactors of a municipality, and they served both the city and the honoree.

Under the Romans, public services performed by private citizens at their own expense, or *euergetism*, were essential steps towards the acquisition of status and honor in provincial cities and also a way to gain the attention of Rome. Recipients of honorific statues performed numerous public services, many of them vital civic functions on which the city depended.[15] Their activities were documented on statue bases in cities all over the Empire, and included serving in civic offices; donating foods and goods such as wheat, wine, or olive oil for consumption by the general public; financing events such as public banquets, festivals, and liturgies; serving as priests in the cults of various gods at local sanctuaries; and commissioning the construction or decoration of civic or religious buildings for public or official use and supplying funds for their operation and

upkeep.[16] Motivations for these public benefactions were complicated and varied widely, but they included generosity, loyalty, gratitude, and civic pride; concern for the status of the city; a sense of responsibility for the proper functioning of municipal or religious institutions; as well as the desire for honor and recognition, or fear of the resentment of the poor. Benefactors, at least in part, offered gifts in order to earn an honorary statue and the visibility, prestige, and perpetuation of memory that came with it.[17]

Portrait sculptures that have survived represent only a tiny fraction of the original numbers that once adorned ancient cities. The trend of awarding honorary statues to recognize the activities of private citizens largely began in Hellenistic times, and it flourished in the Roman era, peaking in the mid-second century before slowing down in the third century.[18] By the late first century BCE, cities were teeming with images. The frescoes of fanciful street scenes in Triclinium C of the Villa Farnesina in Rome show the appearance of typical public spaces.[19] They depict cityscapes crowded with statues in every conceivable display space. Literary sources describe similar situations in virtually every city of the empire, especially in the Greek East where sculptural production had a long history. Many thousands of inscriptions confirm that these descriptions were not mere exaggerations. In Athens, dozens of statues were approved each year, so many that the city became a virtual museum and the civic government a 'machine à voter des statues.'[20] The Agora and the Acropolis were by far the most popular locations for these images.[21] Not all of those honored were awarded single statues; familial or collegial groups are also known, sometimes with many individual statues grouped together.

The inscriptions on these bases are usually lengthy, and they not only emphasize the virtues and deeds of the person being celebrated, [22] but also record the names of the sponsor or sponsoring institution responsible for awarding the statue.[23] In order to ensure continued attention and prestige for the honorees' descendants even after death, wealthy relatives sometimes endowed funds for distributions of food or money to the general public with the requirement that they be performed in front of the statue. The statue might also be decorated with crowns, flowers, or perfumes on certain festival days or other occasions.[24] It seems, then, that ancient observers of the portraits focused mostly on the inscription, location, and use of the statue as the primary keys to the honor. The format, costume, and size of the statue were also crucial carriers of meaning, but, ironically, given the modern scholarly focus on the appearance of the statue, the likeness of the portrait itself apparently mattered little to the original viewer.[25] It is important, therefore, to emphasize that heads like those published here from the Agora were only one component in a much larger phenomenon of public recognition that included the pose and

costume of the statue, its base and inscription, its location and visibility, and its contributions to civic life.

While men were by far the most common recipients of public statues, women too received that honor.[26] Women sometimes served as benefactresses themselves, and thus were eligible for individual public recognition by a municipality.[27] More often, however, their portraits were included in family groups honoring their male relatives. An example of a prominent, well-known civic benefactress honored in her own right was Plancia Magna in the mid-second century. She donated lavishly to her native city of Perge, using her own money to build an elaborate entranceway into the city, a sculptural and architectural tour-de-force featuring twenty-eight niches filled with statues of herself and her relatives, members of the imperial family, founders of the city of Perge, and various Greco-Roman gods.[28] Other examples abound, and include Claudia Antonia Tatiana from Aphrodisias, who around 200 CE was honored with a statue set up beside the door of the Bouleterion. The inscription on the base of this statue describes her as a benefactress of Aphrodisias and notes her family connections. Her costume and headdress make clear that she served as a priestess as well as benefactress, even though this was not indicated in the inscription.[29] Another famous case is that of Menodora from Sillyon in Pamphylia. She was both wealthy and generous, and her gifts to Sillyon in the early third century included distributions of money, wine, grain, and oil; aid for orphans and children; and funds for a temple that included a chryselephantine statue of Tyche on an ornamental base, three other statues made of silver, and other temple furnishings.[30]

Women in the Latin West were also lavish with their benefactions.[31] The virtues and actions recorded in the Latin inscriptions praise the munificence and commitment to civic duties of the honorees. This focus on public virtues differs significantly from the domestic and womanly virtues normally highlighted on women's tombstones (the largest and most studied corpus of Latin inscriptions honoring Roman women).[32] The Latin inscriptions contrast as well with those commemorating women in the Greek East, where, despite the importance of their civic and public contributions, women were most often praised for their beauty, matronly devotion to their husbands and families, and ability to fulfill their domestic duties. Their public actions were rarely mentioned.[33]

The women represented in the three Agora portraits presented here could have been the primary honorees awarded statues like Plancia Magna, Claudia Antonia Tatiana, and Menodora. But it is more likely that their portraits belonged to larger family ensembles meant to honor male relatives. Unfortunately the evidence uncovered so far does not allow a firm conclusion, and although several statue bases bearing inscriptions

honoring Roman women have been found in Athens, none of them were likely to have supported the statues or busts of any of these heads.[34]

Although we cannot connect the Agora portraits to any existing statue bases, the most important qualities highlighted in their inscriptions on the original bases would likely have been those trumpeting the stereotypical feminine virtues of beauty, modesty, and devotion to family and domestic duties, regardless of the reasons the statues were erected. These characteristics were also manifested in their portraits. Even in their present deteriorated state, it is clear that each of these portraits presented its subject as an ideal woman of her time. All exhibit a frontal orientation without any twist of the neck, conveying feminine passivity and a womanly disregard of the potential for action. Their blank, expressionless faces reveal no sense of individuality or personality, and the regularity of the shapes of their faces (especially S 2303 and S 3425) show them as flawless and ideal. The stylish coiffures also suggest that these women paid careful attention to their grooming and wanted to present themselves at their best, as elegant women of taste and refinement who served as decorative complements to their husbands, families, and cities. Their hairstyles also show control over every strand of natural hair, whether hiding it under a wig, as in S 3423, or carefully taming and confining it into braids and twists, as in S 2303 and S 3425, thus eliminating any sense of disarray, casualness, or suggestion of movement, while at the same time emphasizing the formality of the image. The Agora portraits, then, represent women who were shown as modest, sober, respectful, virtuous, well-behaved, and concerned with the proper demonstration of feminine beauty. They are typical examples of female portraits from the Roman era in the Greek East, and they stress the most valued qualities for women of their times, whatever the reasons their statues were originally erected.

CHRISTIAN TREATMENT OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE

Just as the specific processes that led to the commission and erection of the three Agora portraits presented here cannot be securely reconstructed, so too the precise circumstances that led to their abandonment, eventual destruction, and final deposition in their findspots are lost. It is possible, however, to outline the general historical forces that would have led Athenians of the Byzantine period to deface and dispose of the heads in the manner they did.

In Christian times, images depicting human beings were not neutral objects. The complex attitudes of the Christian faithful towards representations of their own God and saints were made dramatically clear by the Iconoclastic Controversy, in which opposing sides clashed several

times in the Byzantine era. This controversy eventually resulted in two official periods of iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries. Complicated beliefs about anthropomorphic images were not only confined to Christian objects. Greco-Roman sculptures were also believed to possess power, and were viewed as much more than just convenient blocks of *spolia* available for reuse. The conflicted attitudes of Christians toward ancient 'pagan' sculptures resulted in a variety of behaviors. Sometimes they were completely destroyed. Marble statues were thrown into lime kilns and bronzes were frequently melted down for re-use. These acts got rid of the offending images and allowed their materials to be reused in a more suitable context. Some statues were admired and continued to be displayed, albeit occasionally with alterations intended to make them acceptable for Christian use. Others were defaced, decapitated, castrated or otherwise mutilated.[35] The broken remains might then be left on view as a visible reminder of Christian triumph, or used as building material, or even dispatched to the underworld by burial or via a conduit such as the sea, a river, or a well. The treatment of Greco-Roman sculptures by Christians thus varied widely, and this makes their actions difficult to detect.[36]

Caution must be used, therefore, when assigning motives for statue destruction. Separating deliberate mutilation from normal processes of deterioration is a challenging task, and most often can be identified only through close visual inspection of a piece. An intentional act can be postulated when only certain parts of the sculpture sustain damage, areas that would not naturally be affected first by breakage or weathering. Even then, assigning specifically Christian or other religious motives to damaged works requires more evidence. Destruction by invaders, vandalism, hooliganism and drunkenness, and other random attacks must also be considered. In order to determine if damage to a statue was religiously motivated, it is helpful to turn to the writings of Byzantine theologians who advocated the removal of dark 'pagan' forces from a statue and described how to destroy these forces effectively. Finally, the ultimate fate of the statue must also be considered. Intentional concealment or burial of statue fragments was also recommended by theologians, and thus the discovery of a mutilated sculpture in such a context may indicate Christian activity.

Literary sources attest that, to many of the Christian faithful, sculptures, especially heads, were considered to be infused with pagan associations and to perpetuate idolatry of false gods.[37] The spirit of anthropomorphic images was both feared and respected by early Christian iconoclasts,[38] and examples of attempts to neutralize that power are found in the archaeological record. One way was to attack the head by scratching out the eyes, cutting off the nose, and otherwise destroying facial features,[39] as seen in Agora S 2303 and S 3423, and possibly S 3425.[40]

Many sculptures throughout the former Roman Empire were used in medieval contexts in ways characteristic of Christian attempts to diffuse the religious energy of a sculpture. A dramatic example of statue desecration is seen in a medallion portrait of Alexander the Great from Aphrodisias. The face was deliberately hammered and a deep incision carved across the throat, probably an attempt to decapitate the image.[41] In the Agora excavations, several examples of defaced or mutilated reliefs have been discovered, including a relief depicting nymphs and deities in the Cave of Pan, which was turned upside down and reused as a step block in a late Roman villa after the heads of the figures had all been deliberately destroyed.[42] Another example can be seen in a relief of Artemis, found in the bottom of a well, which is in virtually pristine condition except that the face of the goddess was hacked away.[43] Other Agora reliefs include one of a nude male figure[44] and another of a togate man,[45] both exhibiting preserved surfaces in good condition, apart from the heads which were intentionally removed.[46]

Defaced heads were sometimes left visible as a reminder to others of the consequences of 'pagan' worship. In Rome, a number of ancient religious sites (besides the previously mentioned Mithraeum beneath S. Stefano Rotondo, above n. 35) experienced destruction by Christians, including the Serapeum on the Janiculum,[47] and the Iseum in the Campus Martius.[48] In these cases, statues as well as architecture were violently broken, but the fragments were not hidden; rather they remained on display in their shattered states. Mark the Deacon records yet another case in his *Life of Porpyrhy*, noting that after the destruction of the Marneion in Gaza in 402, the temple fragments were used to pave the courtyard of a nearby cathedral so that they could be stepped on not only by men, but also by women and filthy animals as well.[49]

Besides defacement, another common action of Christians towards Greco-Roman sculptures was to bury or otherwise hide them from view in order to neutralize their power.[50] Thus, the offending sculpture was consigned to the underworld, while other pieces have been found in areas considered to be zones of passage, liminal places connected to the underworld.[51] For example, the Odyssey sculptures from the Grotto of Tiberius at Sperlonga were found in the artificial pool within the cave. They were broken into thousands of pieces, obviously the subject of a spirited, violent attack. All of the sculptures were smashed, but the group depicting Scylla was especially singled out, and found in particularly small pieces. This treatment may have been because the figure resembled a dragon, a creature thought to be especially alarming to Christians, and its presence in a cave would have added to the idea that evil lurked within. Smashing the sculpture and throwing the fragments into the water appears as an attempt to destroy this power.[52] One of our heads, Agora S 2303, was

likewise concealed underground—thrown into an abandoned pithos, a permanent storage construction dug into the earth with only the mouth projecting above ground. Disposing of the head in the pithos and covering it up with packed soil constituted its burial and banishment to the underworld.

Another tactic was to insert heads into structures, as was done with our Agora heads S 3423 and S 3425. Assigning religious intent to this action requires caution, as the habit of using broken statue fragments as building material in walls has a long history, and may have been due to convenience or utility. For instance, excavators of Rome have found statue fragments in so many walls constructed in the late third to the sixth centuries that they are nicknamed "statue-walls."[53] The reasons these pieces were used, however, appear to have been more practical than religious.[54] Broken statue fragments were readily available blocks of building material that expedited the erection of the walls. In Athens, the post-Herulean wall, put up sometime shortly after the Herulean destruction of the city in 267/268 CE, was constructed using the already-broken remains of buildings and statue bases as construction material.[55] In the same timeframe and under similar conditions, walls were quickly constructed in numerous cities in Gaul,[56] Italy, Asia Minor, and in Greece, where in addition to Athens, cities such as Olympia, Eleusis, and Beroea also built defensive walls.[57]

Inserting a single head into a wall seems to have been prompted by a different impulse than that which motivated use of statue fragments in defensive walls. This practice seems to have occurred more frequently in the ninth to thirteenth centuries than in Late Antiquity. Deciding whether or not this use of a head as building material was an act of Christian iconoclasm must take into account other factors, such as its condition prior to insertion and its position in the wall. One possibility is that a sculpted portrait was arranged specifically to demonstrate the humiliation and disgrace of the demonic spirit within it, by turning it upside down or placing it face down or inward, as happened with both Agora S 3423 and S 3425.[58] These heads therefore may have been hidden in the walls as a way to demean and dishonor them.

Christians, of course, did not destroy or conceal all ancient sculpture. Some Greco-Roman artworks were admired and collected by wealthy and educated Christians and displayed in their homes.[59] Others served as decoration or art objects in public places such as fora, nymphaea, or baths that remained in use. Some statues were even displayed in Christian buildings, such as when a church was built over an existing ancient temple. In these situations, attempts to 'Christianize' or otherwise sanctify the statues were made. One practice was to carve crosses onto them.[60] The preferred location was on the foreheads of portraits, but other spots

were used as well,[61] and the sculptures often show no other sign of willful destruction. The presence of crosses suggests that the statues were not deliberately destroyed or buried but continued to be visible to Christian onlookers. The cross served as a *sphragis*, a sign that the 'pagan' power of the sculpture had been neutralized. The head had been 'baptized' and was now safe for Christian use.[62] In cases where sculptures have other indications of defacement and mutilation, crosses might also have served to exorcise demons prior to destruction of the sculpture.[63]

Another addition made to statues that remained in use took the form of graffiti incised somewhere on the heads of figures. Two examples from Aphrodisias, a statue of Oecumenius dating to the early to mid fifth century, and a head from the Hadrianic Baths, now in Brussels, have the letters Χ Μ Γ carved onto the top of their heads, out of sight of ordinary viewing. The letters stand for the central Christian belief: *Christon Maria genna* (Christ was born to Mary). The Brussels head bears the additional inscription *Th(e)eboēthe* (God help) also on the top of the head and hidden. Were these pieces made by Christian sculptors who wanted to ensure the works were safe for Christians?[64] The Agora excavations have also produced some heads with possible Christian graffiti. Agora S 2443 is the portrait of a woman found in a well with ΘΣ incised on its forehead; these letters probably stood for *Theos*.[65] A herm head, Agora S 3422, has scraggly letters scratched on the back of its head, perhaps KA, standing for *Kyrios Anesti* (the Lord has risen), XA (*Christos Anesti*) or XΘ, an abbreviation referring to chthonic gods, similar in meaning to the Latin DM (*dis manibus*).[66]

Greco-Roman nude statues were still admired and sometimes remained on display with their sexual organs removed. Nude females were given mastectomies, and nude males castrated.[67] This must have been done to make them appropriate for Christian eyes. In order for them to be able to appreciate the artistry of the statues, their offending genitalia had to be obliterated from view.

CONCLUSION

The portraits from the Agora presented here provide information not only about the era in which they were created, but also about the era in which they were eventually broken and deposited. Examining them in light of known activities in Athens in the Roman and Byzantine periods allows us to reconstruct the historical circumstances that led to their creation as well as those that led to their eventual destruction and disposal. The heads probably belonged to honorific statues meant to commemorate generous public services, and they represented ideal feminine archetypes of

the ruling class elite of Roman Athens. Their ultimate fate seems to have been met at the hands of Byzantine Christians who wanted to destroy the demonic spirits lingering within them, and each was at some point decapitated, defaced, and finally, hidden from view. A thousand years later, excavations in the Athenian Agora has once more brought them to light, and analysis of them illuminates both the homage that could be accorded to the women of Athens under the Romans, and the abuse that portraits of them suffered in Athens in the Christian era.

NOTES

1. Throughout his long and varied career, John Camp has pursued questions about many more aspects of ancient Greece than the Athenian Agora, nonetheless, the Agora has played a central role in his scholarship and has been a recurring theme in his contributions to deepening modern understanding of ancient Greece. With that in mind, I gratefully acknowledge my heartfelt appreciation for his teaching, mentoring, and especially his friendship, by dedicating my interpretations of these portraits from the Agora excavations to him.

I would also like to thank Alexis Castor, Holly Haynes, A. J. Droge, and Jim Sickinger, who all read earlier versions of this article and helped immeasurably to improve it. Camilla MacKay used her excellent photoshop skills to arrange the figures, for which I am very grateful. I also thank Jan Jordan and Craig Mauzy for their speedy assistance with the Agora images.

2. All three of these heads were initially published in Lee Ann Riccardi, "Roman Portraits from the Athenian Agora: Recent Finds," in *Excavating the Athenian Agora: New Perspectives on an Ancient Site*, ed. John McK. Camp II (Mainz am Rhein and Princeton, NJ: Philipp von Zabern and American School of Classical Studies Publications, 2009), 55–63.

3. See, for example, Giorgos S. Dontas, *Corpus signorum Imperii Romani* (*CSIR) Grèce*, vol. 1.1, *Les portraits Attiques au Musée de l'Acropole* (Athens: Academie d'Athènes, 2004); Katerina Romiopoulou, *Ελληνορωμαϊκά Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου* (Athens: Tameiou Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn, 1997); Alkmene Datsoule-Stavridi, *Ρωμαϊκά πορτραίτα στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Αθήνας* (Athens: Ethniko Archaiologiko Mouseio tes Athenas, 1985); Pandeli P. Zoridis, "Two New Roman Portraits from Athens," *AJA* 88 (1984): 592–594; Evelyn B. Harrison, "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 29 (1960): 369–392; and *Agora* 1. The authors of all of these publications concentrate on describing, dating, and identifying the portraits under consideration. They rarely discuss the reasons the portraits might have been commissioned or how they might have functioned in the public sphere of Roman Athens. Elena Lattanzi, *I ritratti dei Cosmeti nel Museo Nazionale di Atene* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1968), offers something of an exception, and contains a limited discussion of the role of the *kosmetai*. This focus on the portrait itself rather than on its context is countered by the insightful analysis of R. R. R. Smith, "Cultural Choice and Political Identity in Honorific Portrait Statues in the

Greek East in the Second Century A.D.," *JRS* 88 (1998): 56–93, who emphasizes the role of the statue within the system of public honor and recognition in provincial cities. See also Jane Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context* (New York and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 16-72, for honorific statues in general; Eric Perrin-Saminadayar, "*Aere perennius*. Remarques sur les commandes publiques de portraits en l'honneur des grands hommes à Athènes à l'epoque hellénistique: modalités, statut, réception," in *Iconographie impériale, iconographie royale, iconographie des élites dans le monde gréco-romain*, ed. Yves Perrin (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2004), 109–137, for Athens; and Jeremy Tanner, "Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic," *JRS* 90 (2000): 18–50, for the late Republic.

4. John Pollini is working on a major study of this phenomenon that includes Athens, tentatively entitled *Christian Destruction and Desecration of Images of Classical Antiquity: A Study in Religious Intolerance in the Ancient World*. Some of his conclusions appear in John Pollini, "Gods and Emperors in the East: Images of Power and the Power of Intolerance," in *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*, ed. Yaron Z. Eliav, Elise A. Friedland, and Sharon Herbert (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), 165–194.

5. Capitoline inv. 181, dated by Fittschen to the early Hadrianic era (Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, vol. 3, *Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse Frauenporträts* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985), 61–62, no. 83, plates 104–105). See also Capitoline inv. 4973, dated by Fittschen to the late Trajanic era (Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog*, 55–56, no. 72, plates 90–91), for a portrait with a similar hairstyle.

6. Precise dating of these walls is difficult, but the primary activity in this area seems to have occurred in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. See John McK. Camp II, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1998-2001," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 243–246, on the uncertainty of the pottery chronology used to date these walls. See also T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1989–1993," *Hesperia* 66 (1997): 521–535, for the chronology of the area where both S 3423 and S 3425 were found. He dates the walls to the ninth-thirteenth century with three undated periods of building activity (called I-III). Unfortunately, neither the constructions where these heads were found nor the buildings around them can be precisely dated within these periods of construction.

7. While Janet Stephens, "Ancient Roman Hairstyles: On (Hair)pins and Needles," *JRA* 21 (2008): 117–130, debunks the idea that Roman women relied heavily on artificial hair to create their elaborate styles and convincingly demonstrates that many Roman hairstyles could be created by sewing the hair with a needle and thread, the mannered treatment of this hairstyle (as in portraits of Julia Domna) does, in this case, suggest a wig. For a discussion of Julia Domna's wigs, see Elizabeth Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment," *AJA* 105 (2001): 14–17, and Klaus Fittschen, "Two Portraits of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna," *Indiana University Art Museum Bulletin* 1.2 (1978): 35–36.

8. Capitoline, Inv. 661, dated by Fittschen to the early Severan period (Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog*, 95, no. 138, pls. 164–165). For another portrait with a similar style, see Louvre Ma 1055, dated by Kersauson to the late Severan era (Kate de

Kersauson, *Catalogue des portraits romains. Musée du Louvre* 2. *De l'année de la guerre civile (68–69 après J.-C.) à la fin de l'Empire* [Paris: Ed. de la Réunion de Musées Nationaux, 1996], 404–405, no. 186).

9. See above, n. 6, for comments on the chronology of this area.

10. Capitoline inv. 339, dated by Fittschen to the mid-third century-early Gallienic era (Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog*, 113, no. 170, plates 197, 199).

11. Izmir Inv. No. 6889. Jale Inan and Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und Frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde* (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1979), 167–168, no. 120, plate 49, dated to the late third or early fourth century.

12. For an account from Dexippus, the leader of the Athenian defense, see *FGrH* 2A:452–480, no. 100.

13. See Erkki Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica* (Helsinki: Hakapaino Oy, 1997), 5–62, nos. 4-6 for further discussion and dating of these bases. My thanks go to Kevin F. Daly for his assistance in locating references for these inscriptions.

14. See Dontas, *CSIR Grèce* 1.1, 32–33, 94–98, nos. 90–95; Datsoule-Stavridi, *Ρωμαϊκά πορτραίτα*, 106, no. 399, and *Agora* 1, with comments on page 105, and specific examples on pages 60–61, no. 46; pages 64–65, no. 50, and pages 67–68, no. 52; Emmaneul Voutiras, "Ein Wiedergewonnenes attisches Porträt der Spätantike," *AM* 96 (1981): 201–208.

15. For a different view about the economic importance of *euergetism* in the Greek East, see Arjan Zuiderhoek, "The Icing on the Cake: Benefactors, Economics, and Public Building in Roman Asia Minor," in *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Constantina Katsari (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005), 167–186.

16. The bibliography on *euergetism* is enormous and growing. Any exploration of this subject must include Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, trans. Brian Pearce (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1990), originally published in 1976 as *Le pain and le cirque: sociòlogiè historique d'un pluralisme politique*. On pages 70–200, Veyne sets out the evidence for the origins and development of *euergetism* in Greece from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods. For a concise recent summary of *euergetism* in the Roman period, see François Jacques and John Scheid, *Roma e il suo Impero: Istituzioni, economia, religione*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Laterza, 2008), 406–424. Other useful sources are Jon E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 30–106; Uta Kron, "Priesthoods, Dedications, and *Euergetism*," in *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1983*, ed. Pontus Hellström and Brita Alroth (Uppsala: Ubsaliensis S. Academiae, 1996), 171 and 178; Richard Gordon, "The Veil of Power: Emperors, Sacrificers and Benefactors," in *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. Mary Beard and John North (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 201–234; and Guy M. Rogers, "Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of *Euergetism*," *JRS* 81 (1991): 91–100. For women in public life, including their role in public benefactions during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Riet van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Woman and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman*

Periods (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1996). For public portraiture as a reward for *euergetism*, see Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 16–72.

17. Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 48-51; Lendon, *Empire of Honour*, 84–89.

18. Klaus Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien: Beiträge zur archäologischen Überlieferung aus der Zeit der Republik und des Augustus*, vol. 1, *Roma und Promagistrate* (Tübingen: F. Wasmuth Cop., 1979), 12–19, for Hellenistic origins; Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 40–41, for the evidence and reasons for the third-century decline; R. R. R. Smith, "Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300–600," *JRS* 89 (1999): 155–189, provides an excellent case study of chronological changes in the phenomenon of public statues awarded to private citizens in Aphrodisias.

19. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. Irene Bragantini, "Triclinio C," in *La Villa della Farnesina in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, ed. Maria Rita di Mino (Milan: Electa, 1998), 46–53; Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 51.

20. Perrin-Saminadayar, "*Aere perennius*," 110.

21. Based on epigraphical testimony, and confirmed by Pausanias and Strabo.

22. Some Latin inscriptions, mostly in the western empire, refer to statue recipients as patrons rather than as benefactors. While this term is similar in meaning to the Greek *euergetes*, it is no longer thought to be synonymous, and acts of patronage and acts of benefaction have now been shown to be substantially different. A *patronus* appears to have been an official position, one that involved a formal relationship with the city, whereas a benefactor was not a formal office. The responsibilities of a *patronus* went beyond financial gifts and included the 'lobbying' of Roman officials—that is, promoting and protecting the interests of the native city in the political sphere. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 457, n. 251 realized that, unlike *euergetes*, *patronus* was an official title, but he thought it was given to reward acts of benefaction, and therefore did not see much difference between the terms. But Robert Duthoy, "Sens et fonction du patronat municipal dunrat le principat," *L'antiquité classique* 53 (1984): 145–156; Benet Salway, "Prefects, *Patroni*, and Decurions: A New Perspective on the Album of Canusium," in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. Alison C. Cooley (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2000), 140-144; Claude Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 98–102; and Emily A. Hemelrijk, "City Patronesses in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 53 (2004): 209–245, all argue that patronage is unrelated to financial donations, and thus is quite separate from *euergetism*. Only approximately 1500 patrons of cities in the empire are recorded in inscriptions, in contrast to many thousands of benefactors. Therefore, while there was certainly overlap, patrons were not necessarily benefactors and benefactors were rarely patrons.

23. Although the statue might be dedicated by the city, the expenses for its erection would sometimes be borne by the honoree or a family member. For Italian examples of this, see Elizabeth Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1996), 113–114, no. 34; page 116, no. 44; page 198, no. 351. For an example from Pegae in Greece, see Arthur R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), 181–183.

24. John H. D'Arms, "Memory, Money, and Status at Misenum: Three New Inscriptions from the Collegium of the *Augustales*," *JRS* 90 (2000): 126–144, publishes

a statue base for Q. Cominius Abascantus from Misenum, inscribed on three sides. Side B, discussed on pages 135–141, includes provisions for an endowment for cleaning, anointing, and periodically adorning with violets and roses the statues he had dedicated. See also Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 18, 64–65, 67.

25. On this point, see Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 30; Perrin-Saminadayar, "*Aere perennius*," 137; and Smith, "Cultural Choice and Political Identity," 56–57.

26. Also starting in the Hellenistic period. See J. Cordelia Eule, *Hellenistische Bürgerinnen aus Kleinasien: Weibliche Bewandstatuen in ihrem antiken Kontext* (Istanbul: Tarih, Arkeoloji, Sanat ve Kültür Mirasını Koruma Vakfı, 2001), for Asia Minor and van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*, 180–190, for the rise of the phenomenon for women.

27. Surprisingly, given the political responsibilities, women could also be patronesses. Hemelrijk, "City Patronesses," 213–214, put together a comprehensive list of women who were called city patronesses in N. Africa and central Italy from the middle of the second century to the early fourth century. She was able to find nineteen women who received this title, compared to approximately 1200 men. The women were all recognized in their own right, and the wording of the inscriptions similar to those of the men, but the inscriptions all also referenced their illustrious male relatives.

28. For fuller discussion of Plancia's official roles and activities, see Mary T. Boatwright, "The City-Gate of Plancia Magna in Perge," in *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology*, ed. Eve d'Ambra (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993): 189-207; van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*, 104-107; Catherine de Grazia Vanderpool, "Fashioning Plancia Magna: Memory and Revival in the Greek East during the Second Century A.D.," in *Terra Marique: Studies in Art History and Marine Archaeology in Honor of Anna Marguerite McCann*, ed. John Pollini (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 12-29; and Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 363–367.

29. Smith, "Cultural Choice and Political Identity," 67–68.

30. Van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*, 108–112; Gordon, "Veil of Power," 228-231.

31. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues*, includes eighteen examples of inscriptions on portrait statue bases of women in her catalogue of honorary inscriptions in Italy. See also Emily A. Hemelrijk, "Priestesses of the Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Benefactions and Public Honor," *L'Antiquité classique* 75 (2006): 85–117, especially page 91, n. 14, for further references and the total numbers and types of benefactions given by imperial cult priestesses in Italy, N. Africa, Spain, Gaul, the Alps, and Germania Superior that were recorded in inscriptions.

32. Elizabeth Forbis, "Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions," *American Journal of Philology* 111 (1990): 493–512, collected and analyzed the surviving honorary inscriptions for women in Italy and noted this emphasis on their wealth and generosity rather than on their femininity and domesticity, as is usually highlighted in funerary epitaphs. She concludes that this was because Italian cities were so dependent on the munificence of private citizens that they wanted to stimulate civic donations by other women of similar wealth and status by highlighting the public contributions that earned them their statues.

33. Forbis, "Women's Public Image," 495–497. Sencer Şahin, ed., *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, vol. 54, *Die Inschriften von Perge* 1 (Bonn: R. Ha-

belt, 1999), 187, no. 157 provides the example of Dracilla, an important benefactress from Perge, who is recognized in the inscription on the base of her statue only for her φιλανδρία and σωφροσύνη, and not for her numerous public actions or benefactions. Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 37.

34. Inscriptions from statue bases that honor women of the Roman era from Athens include *SEG* 26, no. 261; *SEG* 12 (1955) no. 156, an inscription honoring Annia Stat, dating after 238; *SEG* 41 (1991), no. 154, a base honoring Moundicia Secundilla dating after 126/7. None of these bases, however, can be associated with the Agora portraits. Additionally *SEG* 48 (1998), nos. 213–218; 221–225 records inscriptions from statue bases of uncertain readings originally noted by Kyriakos S. Pittakes, *L'ancienne Athènes ou las description des antiquités d'Athènes et de ses environs* (Athens: E. Antoniades, 1835); and *SEG* 36 (1986) no. 265 is an inscription on a large base of the second-century recording honors to an uncertain person. A few of these unknown honorees may have been women of the Roman period. I am grateful to Molly Richardson for her help in locating the references for these inscriptions.

Several women predating the Agora portraits were honored with statues in Athens. Epigraphical evidence from the Republican and Augustan period is collected and discussed in Mika Kajava, "Roman Senatorial Women and the Greek East. Epigraphical Evidence from the Republican and Augustan Period," in *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History: Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvärminne 2-3 October 1987*, ed. Heikki Solin and Mika Kajava (Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1990), 68-82. Epigraphical evidence from the Julio-Claudian era is collected in Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens: A New Epigraphy and Prosopography* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 204–208 and include *IG* 2^2 3558, 4042, 4043, 4044, 4046, 4232, 4234, 4236, 4237, 4238, 4239, 4241, 4242, 4243; *AE* (1971), no. 438.

35. A vivid description of statue destruction in a Mithraeum in Rome destroyed by Furius Maecius Gracchus for reasons of Christian iconoclasm, is given by Jerome (Jer., *Ep*. 107.2):

> *Et, ut omittam vetera, ne apud incredulous nimis fabulosa videantur, ante paucos annos propinquus vester Graccus nobilitatem patriciam nomine sonans, cum praefecturam regeret urbanam, nonne specu Mithrae et omnia portentuosa simulacra, quibus corax, nymphius, miles, leo, Perses, Heliodromis, pater initiantur, subverit, fregit, exussit et his quasi obsidibus ante praemissis inpetravit baptismum Christi.*
>
> And to pass over such old stories which to unbelievers may well seem incredible, did not your own kinsman Gracchus whose name betokens his patrician origin, when a few years back he held the prefecture of the City, overthrow, break in pieces, and shake to pieces the grotto of Mithras and all the dreadful images therein? Those I mean by which the worshippers were initiated as Raven, Bridegroom, Soldier, Lion, Perseus, Sun, Crab, and Father? Did he not, I repeat, destroy these and then, sending them before him as hostages, obtain for himself Christian baptism?" trans. Stanley L. Greenslade, ed, *Early Latin Theology: Selections from Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956), 330–344.

This account is supported by the archaeological evidence discovered by the excavators of the Mithraeum under S. Stephano Rotondo, where the

cult-statue was found decapitated but remaining on the pavement. The other statues were broken into small pieces. This must have happened sometime after 357 CE, since Gracchus was urban prefect in 376–377 CE. See Elissa Lissi Caronna, "Scoperte sotto S. Stefano Rotondo," in *S. Stefano Rotondo,* Atti della Pontificia Accadmenia romana di Archeologia, Memorie 15, ed. Carlo Ceschi (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1982), 175–183.

36. Richard M. Rothaus, *Corinth: The First City of Greece* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 105-119, with references, provides a fuller discussion of Christian attitudes and behaviors towards Greco-Roman sculptures.

37. As revealed by passages such as this one by Theorodet of Cyrrhus, *Curatio affectionum graecarum* 3:79–83 (cited by Robert Coates-Stephens, "*Muri dei bassi secoli* in Rome: Observations on the Re-use of Statuary in Walls Bound on the Esquiline and Caelian after 1870," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 [2001]: 184):

> [now that the] world has come to its senses, they say that myths are lies…if the poets have invented false myths, why do [we] allow statue-makers, carvers and painters to perpetuate the lie by means of their craft? . . . it would be necessary to hinder the artisans by law and to threaten them with death, so that no one in any way would fashion such images . . . it would be necessary to crush completely and destroy these images fashioned of those who are called gods in insult and jest. . . .

See also Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 56–58, and Cyril Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 59.

38. Rothaus, *Corinth*, 106, n. 3, notes that the power of images was not necessarily viewed as evil, at least not in the early Christian era, and that it could at times be considered to be benevolent. More commonly, however, the prevailing attitude seems to have been that shown by Minucius Felix in *Octavius* 27:

> These impure spirits, therefore—the demons—as is shown by the Magi, by the philosophers, and by Plato, consecrated under statues and images, lurk there, and by their afflatus attain the authority as of a present deity; while in the meantime they are breathed into the prophets, while they dwell in the shrines, while sometimes they animate the fibres of the entrails, control the flights of birds, direct the lots, are the cause of oracles involved in many falsehoods . . . Thus they weigh men downwards from heaven, and call them away from the true God to material things: they disturb the life, render all men unquiet; creeping also secretly into human bodies, with subtlety, as being spirits, they feign diseases, alarm the minds, wrench about the limbs; that they may constrain men to worship them, being gorged with the fumes of altars or the sacrifices of cattle, that, by remitting what they had bound, they may seem to have cured it. (trans. Peter Kirby, *Early Christian Writings* [2014] http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/octavius.html).

39. Heads were the principal carriers of identity. Peter Stewart, "The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity," in *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, ed. Richard Miles (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 167; Yoram Tsafrir, "The Classical Heritage in Late Antique Palestine: The Fate of Free-Standing

Sculptures," in *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*, ed. Yaron Z. Eliav, Elise A. Friedland, and Sharon Herbert (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), 129; and Frank R. Trombley, "Destruction of Pagan Statuary and Christianization," in *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*, ed.Yaron Z. Eliav, Elise A. Friedland, and Sharon Herbert (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), 156–157, who cites passage 4.5 from the *Abodah Zara* of the *Mishnah*, from the third century:

> In what manner can one desecrate an idol? By cutting off the tip of its ear or nose or finger, by battering it—even though its bulk be not diminished—it is desecrated. But by spitting in its face, making water before it, dragging it about, or casting dirt upon it, behold! The idol is not desecrated. (trans. William A. L. Elmslie, *The Mishna on Idolatry, 'Aboda Zara'* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911], 670).

Although this is a Jewish text, apparently Christian behavior was formulated in much the same way.

40. Other heads from the Agora that exhibit signs of deliberate defacement for religious reasons include Agora S 316, S 332, S 551, S 739, S 789, S 1091, S 1227, and S 1256. Each of these heads has scratched-out eyes and other obliterated facial features, but at least some of the surfaces around the damaged areas remain intact, suggesting an intentional defacement. Because the eyes and face were the principal focus of the attack on all of them, Christian motives may have been at work.

41. Rothaus, *Corinth*, 114–116; R. R. R. Smith, "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 80 (1990): 136.

42. Agora I 7154. John McK. Camp II, "The Philosophical Schools of Roman Athens," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, ed. Susan Walker and Averil Cameron (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1989), 54, plate 12, figure 21.

43. Agora S 2361. Evelyn B. Harrison, *Ancient Portraits from the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 1960), 9, figure 15.

44. Agora S 820, unpublished.

45. Agora S 3394, unpublished.

46. My thanks to Carol Lawton for bringing these pieces to my attention.

47. Destroyed at the end of the fourth century. The headless torso of the cult-statue was found still in its niche, but smashed into nearly two dozen pieces. All the other statues in the structure, including individual images of Dionysus, Hercules, and a pharaoh, and two groups, one consisting of a satyr, maenad, and Venus, the other of three dancing nymphs, were similarly broken into bits. Robert Coates-Stephens, "The Reuse of Ancient Statuary in Late Antique Rome and the End of the Statue Habit," in *Statuen in der Spätantike*, ed. Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 174; Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, trans. Antonia Nevill (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 188–193.

48. For a description of how the Iseum statues were found mutilated and lying on the pavement, see Rodolfo A. Lanciani, *Notes from Rome*, ed. Anthony L. Cubberley (London: British School at Rome, 1988), 138. Lanciani speculates that the destruction was provoked by an attempt to reinstate the Egyptianizing cult

by Nicomachus Flavianus, who, by celebrating rituals here in 394 CE, angered the local Christians.

49. The passage is worth quoting in its entirety (*Life of Porphyry* 76):

> When, therefore, the ashes were carried away and all the abominations were destroyed, the rubbish that remained of the marble work of the Marneion, which they said was sacred, and in a place not to be entered, especially by women, this did the holy bishop resolve to lay down for a pavement before the temple outside in the street, that it might be trodden under foot not only of men, but also of women and dogs and swine and beasts. And this grieved the idolaters more than the burning of the temple. Wherefore the more part of them, especially the women, walk not upon the marbles even unto this day. (Marcus Diaconus, *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza,* trans. George F. Hill [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913]) http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/porphyry.asp.

50. In the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 28 (trans. Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomai Chronikai* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984]), the burial of a statue that had spontaneously fallen on a man and killed him is recorded. Statue burials are also recorded in other passages, including 5a, 7, 8, and 9.

51. Rothaus, *Corinth*, 115–116, notes that disposal often occurred at places of transition, such as crossroads, rivers, wells. Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (New York: New Amsterdam, 1987), 6-104, elaborates further. A large number of Agora heads were found in Byzantine wells; too many to list here.

52. Niels Hannestad, "How Did Rising Christianity Cope with Pagan Sculpture?" in *East and West: Modes of Communication: Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999), 182-183. Again the *Abodah Zara* of the Mishnah is useful. Passage 3.3 specifically singles out sculptures of dragons and recommends that they be smashed and thrown into the sea (in this case, the Dead Sea). Although the destruction of the Sperlonga sculptures would have been brought about by Christians rather than Jews, the motivation that led to it was probably the same.

53. The earliest known in Rome are the Aurelian fortification walls of the late third century, and the latest the Porta Maggiore columbaria from the early sixth century. Coates-Stephens, "Reuse of Ancient Statuary," 171–172.

54. I follow here the arguments of Coates-Stephens, "*Muri dei bassi secoli* in Rome," and reiterated in Coates-Stephens, "Reuse of Ancient Statuary."

55. Homer A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267–600," *JRS* 49 (1959): 64. This wall included *spolia* from the Temple of Ares, the Metroon, the Middle Stoa, the Odeion of Agrippa, the Stoa of Attalos, and the Library of Pantainos. Nikos Tsoniotis, "Νέα στοιχεία γία το υστερορωμαϊκό τείχος της Αθήνας," in *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή: Πρόσφατες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες* (*Athens during the Roman Period: Recent Discoveries, New Evidence*), ed. Stavros Vlizos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 55–74. Also a badly broken head of a man from the Hadrianic era (Agora S 837) was found in the fill between the inner and outer faces of the wall. It was published in *Agora* 1:33–34, no. 23, plate 12.

56. R. M. Butler, "Late Roman Town Walls in Gaul," *Archaeological Journal* 96 (1959): 25–50.

57. *Agora* 24:3.

58. Many examples of heads built into Byzantine walls are recorded in the Agora notebooks, but unfortunately their exact positions were often not included, and particularly in the early campaigns, photographs are also lacking. Therefore we cannot be sure of their placement or of the direction of their faces. Heads found in late Roman or Byzantine walls include: Agora S 336, S 460, S 482, S 551, S 580, S 591, S 694, S 774, S 1052, S 1075, S 1093, S 1256, S 1227, S 1487, S 1537, S 1840, S 1992, S 1993, S 1998, S 2331, S 2345, S 2421, and S 3366.

59. Coates-Stephens, "Reuse of Ancient Statuary," 178–183; Hannestad, "Rising Christianity," 186–194.

60. Rivka Gersht, "Roman Statuary Used in Byzantine Caesarea," in *Caesarea Papers* 2: *Herod's Temple, the Provincial Governor's Praetorium and Granaries, the Later Harbor, a Gold Coin Hoard, and Other Studies*, ed. Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 389-398; Constantin A. Marinescu, "Transformations: Classical Objects and their Re-use during Late Antiquity," in *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), 285–298; and Angelos Delivorrias, "Interpretatio Christiana. Γύρω από τα όρια του παγανιστικού και του χριστιανικού κόσμου," in *Ευφρόσυνον: Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη* (Athens: Ekdosē tou Tameiou Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn, 1991), 107-123, give many examples.

61. For example, a statue of Marcus Aurelius from Alexandria (Mus. No. 3520) has a cross carved on its cuirassed abdomen. Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirasses Statues," *Berytus* 13 (1959-1960): 65, no. 263, plate 20.62. Relief sculptures might have crosses placed in all sorts of areas; from the Agora, a horse and rider relief (Agora S 1197) has crosses incised onto the rear haunch of the horse and the thigh of the rider. Delivorrias, "Interpretatio Christiana," 118, plate 59.

62. Trombley, "Destruction of Pagan Statuary," 157–160; Marinescu, "Transformations," 287–292; Øystein Hjort, "Augustus Christianus—Livia Christiana: *Sphragis* and Roman Portrait Sculpture," in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, ed. Lennart Rydén and Jan O. Rosenquist (Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute, 1993), 99–112; and Delivorrias, "Interpretatio Christiana." Examples of sculpted heads from the Agora that have what might be Christian crosses carved into their foreheads are S 667, S 752, S 1036, and S 1134. None are completely secure examples. S 752 might have a letter, perhaps E or Σ, carved on the forehead rather than a cross.

63. Rothaus, *Corinth*, 113; Marinescu, "Transformations," 290.

64. R. R. R. Smith, "The Statue Monument of Oecumenius: A New Portrait of a Late Antique Governor from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 92 (2002): 150–155, presents several possible scenarios to account for the inscription, all suggesting some kind of Christian intervention.

65. Delivorrias, "Interpretatio Christiana," 118, plate 59b. Elizabeth J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1988), 41, n. 68, plate 3c, d.

66. I am grateful to A.J. Droge for this suggestion.

67. Johanna Auinger and Elisabeth Rathmayr, "Zur spätantiken Statuenausstattung der Thermen und Nymphäen in Ephesos," in *Statuen in der Spätantike*, ed.

Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 248–249; Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel, "Statuen in der Spätantike," in *Statuen in der Spätantike*, ed. Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 6–7; Jane Fejfer, "Sculpture in Roman Cyprus," in *Panayia Ematousa*, vol. 2, *Political, Cultural, Ethnic, and Social Relations in Cyprus: Approaches to Regional Studies*, ed. Lone Wriedt Sørensen and Kristina Winther Jacobsen (Athens: Danish Institute at Athens, 2006), 92-94, figures 11–13; Hannestad, "Rising Christianity," 183.

13

Polis Inscriptions and Jurors in Fourth-Century Athens

M. B. Richardson

> *The orators could take great liberty with past history, already much garbled and confused, to suit their immediate rhetorical purposes, but they could hardly do so with plain facts concerning monuments which many of their hearers would see for themselves on the way to and from the court.*[1]

In the quotation above, excerpted from *Agora* 3, R. E. Wycherley highlights the credibility of the Attic orators as witnesses to monuments that were on display at sites that the orators and their audience strode past. In this paper, I call on the orators to document another group of monuments: specifically, the inscribed objects that were familiar to both an Athenian orator and his audience. To find examples of these objects, I start with the Demosthenic forensic speeches, collecting passages where the speaker explicitly claims that one or another inscribed text is known to the jurors whom he addresses.

The resulting roster of inscribed texts that we can rate as common knowledge is very small, consisting of only a series of gold crowns, and their associated labels, that the members of his audience "all used to see" ("ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὁρᾶν": Dem. 22.72–73) and a single legal directive that those in his audience "all know" ("πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὑμεῖς": Dem. 23.31). The courtroom accounts do not tell us precisely how these texts had become familiar to the speaker and jurors—they do not allow us to say, for example, who had read these texts nor where they had been set on display—but they tell us something about the relationship between Athenian inscriptions and Athenian citizens that seems to have been expected

by a practiced speaker in court and that we could not have learned by studying inscriptions that are preserved to us now. The preserved inscriptions hint at the sorts of functions their authors intended them to have, whereas these courtroom conversations show us how some inscriptions were in fact put to use.

By directing my focus to the small set of inscribed documents known to these courtroom audiences, my topic is distinct from studies that examine our literary sources to document the survival of epigraphical and archival documents, including studies that ask which official pre–Persian War written documents were available to fifth- and fourth-century BCE writers[2] and in what forms Athenian laws were accessible to litigants in those same centuries.[3] I sidestep those questions here, in favor of adding an epigraphical postscript to the testimonia collected in *Agora* 3, confining the evidence, for the moment, to the speaker's asides to his audience in the speeches preserved as Demosthenes 18–59.[4] It is here that the orator provides examples of epigraphical knowledge shared among Athenian citizens—not only among writers and litigants—in the mid-fourth century BCE.

My choice of the speeches of Demosthenes as a gauge of popular knowledge is owed in part to the thoughtful study by Lionel Pearson on "Historical Allusions in the Attic Orators," in which he noted that "Demosthenes is extremely careful not to claim for himself more knowledge than he expects his hearers to possess" and that, "in common with the other orators, Demosthenes . . . must make every effort to appear on a level with his audience; he may be gifted with a talent for interpreting evidence and seeing into the future, but it is not expected that he have any greater knowledge of facts, either past or present."[5] Pearson calls attention, in particular, to Demosthenes' use of such expressions as "I am sure you all know," pointing out that the rhetorical device "does not mean that . . . he always confidently expects his hearers to have such knowledge." In his examination of these expressions, Pearson evaluates the orator's "accounts of historical events," exclusively, details that could not in all cases be easily confirmed by the audience and that might be manipulated to suit the orator's immediate needs.[6] We can expect, however, that when Demosthenes uses this same sort of rhetorical device in reference to a concrete object rather than a historical event, he would have had little license to distort the evidence: any physical monument that he could characterize as being familiar to his hearers had presumably been on view in their own time either in or nearby the Agora—that is, for Athenian jurors, within a comfortable walking distance from the courtroom.[7] In his descriptions of monuments that he expected to be familiar to that audience, Demosthenes would have been exceptionally constrained by the evidence.

The approach taken here could feasibly be applied to the speeches of Demosthenes presented in the Assembly, those written for other purposes, and those of the other orators.

In the entire corpus of Demosthenic forensic speeches, I find only two passages in which the orator's reference to texts on inscribed monuments carries the presumption that the texts will be familiar to his audience: Demosthenes 22.72–73 (the inscriptions labeling the crowns) and 23.31 (the law on the axon).

THE INSCRIPTIONS LABELING THE CROWNS

Demosthenes 22.72–73 (Androtion) (355 BCE):[8] "You all, I suppose, used to see the words." ("οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὁρᾶν . . . γεγραμμένα")

> "καὶ μήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου σκέψασθ' ὡς καλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰ ἐπιγράμματα τῆς πόλεως ἀνελὼν ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ δεινὰ ἀντεπέγραψεν. οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ τῶν στεφάνων ταῖς χοινικίσι κάτωθεν γεγραμμένα 'οἱ σύμμαχοι τὸν δῆμον ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης,' ἢ 'οἱ σύμμαχοι ἀριστεῖον τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ,' ἢ κατὰ πόλεις, 'οἱ δεῖνες τὸν δῆμον, σωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,' οἷον 'Εὐβοεῖς ἐλευθερωθέντες ἐστεφάνωσαν τὸν δῆμον,' πάλιν 'Κόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους'· τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ τῶν στεφάνων ἐπιγράμματα. ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν, ἃ ζῆλον πολὺν εἶχε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὑμῖν, ἠφάνισται καθαιρεθέντων τῶν στεφάνων·"
>
> "Again, men of Athens, consider those glorious and enviable polis inscriptions that he [Androtion] has obliterated for all time, and the strange and blasphemous inscriptions that he has written in their stead. You all, I suppose (οἶμαι), used to see the words written (ὁρᾶν . . . γεγραμμένα) under the circlets of the crowns: 'The Allies to the Athenian People for valor and righteousness,' or 'The Allies to the Goddess of Athens, a prize of victory'; or, from the several states of the alliance, 'Such-and-such a City to the People by whom they were delivered,' or, 'The liberated Euboeans,' for example, 'crown the People'; or again, 'Conon from the sea-fight with the Lacedaemonians.' Such, I say, were the inscriptions of the crowns. They were tokens of emulation and honorable ambition; but now they have vanished with the destruction of the crowns. . . ."

The speaker does not make it clear, in this description, whether the inscriptions "written under the circlets" had been written on the crowns themselves or on separate labels, only that they had in some fashion accompanied, and thereby labeled, the crowns.[9] Those inscriptions were either destroyed or made superfluous ("ἐπιγράμματα . . . ἀνελὼν . . . ἠφάνισται") on the destruction of the crowns. The crowns were of gold

that was shaped in part into leaves (Dem. 22.70: "φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων . . . χρυσίου"), and on being melted down, the crowns had been made into cups ("φιάλαι"), which the speaker does not claim that the jurors had seen, each bearing the inscription "'Made by direction of Androtion.'"[10] The new cups were lodged in the temples ("ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς")—which are precisely the places where such miscreants as Androtion, "ἠταιρηκότος," were forbidden to enter (22.73). We might speculate that the crowns had also lain in those same temples, and that the temples included some on the Acropolis and perhaps some in the Agora—but the speaker does not tell his audience that, and we might be wrong to suppose it.[11]

Of the inscriptions written under the circlets of the crowns, the orator claims that the jurors had seen them ("οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὁρᾶν . . . γεγραμμένα"), but not explicitly that they had read them. He does not then pass over what the inscriptions had said, as though there was no need to recall their wording, but provides the jurors with some examples, at least, of their texts. According to his testimony, the members of his audience had been face-to-face with these crowns and with the writing on their labels. Their knowledge of the precise wording of the inscriptions, however—on the evidence of this passage—may have depended on a source other than their own observation.

THE LAW ON THE AXON

Demosthenes 23.31 (Aristokrates) (352 BCE):[12] "All of you know." ("πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὑμεῖς")

> "ἀλλὰ πῶς; 'ὡς ἐν τῷ ἄξονι εἴρηται,' φησίν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τί; ὃ πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὑμεῖς. οἱ θεσμοθέται τοὺς ἐπὶ φόνῳ φεύγοντας κύριοι θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαί εἰσι·"
>
> "And by what means (are murderers to be arrested)? 'As it is stated on the axon,' (the law) says. And what's that? All of you know. The thesmothetai are authorized to punish with death persons in exile on a charge of murder. . . . "

In the conversational question-and-answer "τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τί; ὃ πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὑμεῖς" ("And what's that? All of you know"), the referent of "that" which "all of you know" is the legal directive that the speaker supplies immediately next: "The thesmothetai are authorized to punish with death. . . ." According to this testimony, the directive "as it is stated on the axon" was known to all the jurors.

The speaker's reference to "the axon," unaccompanied by an explanation of what an axon was, seems to hint that the jurors had some knowledge about the form, if not firsthand acquaintance with the object itself.

We do not know whether any of the axones inscribed with the seventh-century laws of Drakon, and "the axon" in particular, still survived at the time of the trial. We do know that some of the text that had been inscribed on the axones was ordered to be copied onto a stele in 409/8 BCE, some sixty years before this speech—a stele that is in our possession today (*IG* 1^3.104)—where text from the law of Drakon on homicide was organized under the headings "first axon" and "second axon."[13] When the speaker in another Demosthenic speech, [Demosthenes] 47.71 (Euergos and Mnesiboulos), claims that he has "looked at the laws of Drakon on the stele" ("τοὺς νόμους ἐπισκεψάμενος τοὺς τοῦ Δράκοντος ἐκ τῆς στήλης"), it is possible that he is referring to the stele preserved to us now—and, if not, his observation presumably attests a third epigraphical record of some parts of "the laws of Drakon." The speaker in the speech against Aristokrates does not claim that his audience has seen any of these.

COMMON KNOWLEDGE

In both of the excerpted passages, the fact that the orator supplies the jurors with the wording of the inscriptions shows that he is not relying on their independent recollection of the texts, on which, after all, some part of his argument depends. By alerting his audience members that they are already familiar with some aspect of these inscribed texts—"You all, I suppose, used to see the words" and "All of you know"—he prepares them to view the texts as familiar stock and might have encouraged them to nod along with him in agreement—whether, in fact, they recalled the precise wording or not.

In contrast with his expectations of this common knowledge, when he introduces documents that were certainly not in the public realm, he sometimes openly informs the jurors that they are not familiar with the documents and tells them what they will learn by hearing them read aloud. So, for example, in speech 23, before asking that the jurors be read "the decree respecting the hostages, the dispatch of Iphikrates, the dispatch of Timotheos, and lastly this deposition," he advises his audience that upon hearing the documents read, "You will find that what I am telling you is not mere gossip and recrimination, but the plain truth" (Dem. 23.151 [Aristokrates]). He clearly had not expected them to be familiar with those texts. In the case of Athenian laws and decrees, too, except for the citation from the law on the axon, he often provides a preview of a text, and states its significance, before having it read aloud. So, in speech 34, in referring to an Athenian law against the transporting of grain outside Athens, he first summarizes the law, and then, just before asking that it be read, explains why the reading is needed: "in proof that my words

are true" (Dem. 34.37 [Phormion]). We might expect that his audience could have known the texts of laws and decrees more readily than they could have known the texts of dispatches and depositions, and he does claim, in speech 25, that the jurors had license to check the texts of the laws ("τοὺς νόμους"): "How will you make your way to the Sanctuary of the Mother-goddess, if you wish to do so? For surely you will never go individually to consult the laws as if they were still valid, unless you have now collectively confirmed them before you depart" (Dem. 25.99 [Aristogeiton I]).[14] But he does not seem to expect that the jurors had been previously familiar with those laws.[15] And, apart from the inscription on the axon, he does not in any instance in these speeches expressly presume that his audience is familiar with any text of a law, inscribed or not, at the time that he introduces it in court.

I excerpt, in the appendix below, passages in Demosthenes 18–59 where mention is made of inscriptions and other publicly available documents that, in the light of other evidence from other sources—in particular, from the inscriptions we have in hand from excavations on the Acropolis, in the Agora, and from elsewhere in Athens—we might reasonably propose were on display in the central hub of the city. On the evidence of these forensic speeches alone, however, it is only the inscribed labels of the crowns and the directive inscribed on the axon, among all of the documents that the speaker mentions, that he explicitly singles out as being familiar to his audience. In assessing why these inscriptions are treated so exceptionally in these speeches, we can look to the role that they played in the speaker's argument.

COURTROOM ARGUMENT

1. Demosthenes 22.72–73 (Androtion), the inscriptions labeling the crowns

In the speech against Androtion, evidence of Androtion's malfeasance in respect to the crowns, and in respect to their associated inscriptions, goes directly to the matter of his character; the inscriptions do not at all enter into the speech as documents whose terms the defendant has abrogated. Androtion is charged with requesting a crown for the council, and the law that the speaker cites first for the prosecution is that "which explicitly denies to the Council the right to ask a reward, if they have not built the war-ships" (22.8). The speaker then cites other laws to clarify the application of that law to the case, anticipating all along the arguments that will be lodged in favor of the defendant. That done, he proceeds to two lengthy examinations, the first concerning the politics of Androtion (22.47–68) and a second on topics of Androtion's activities that lie outside the political (22.69–78).

In the opening statements of both of these examinations (22.47, 69), the speaker alerts his audience to his aim: in the first opening statement, he declares that he wants to make an examination ("ἐξετάσαι") of the political activities of Androtion ("βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτεύματα ἐξετάσαι τοῦ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ τούτου": "I want to examine, then, the politics of this paragon of a man" [trans. mine]); he then signals that the second examination will move to a different topic: "And so, you might say, these deeds mark the sort of man he is in his political doings, but there are other deeds" ([trans. mine]; "ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ταῦτα μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἐν οἷς πεπολίτευται, ἄλλα δ' ἔσθ'"), to wit, Androtion is "guilty of sacrilege, of impiety, of embezzlement, of every monstrous crime" ("ἱεροσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ κλοπῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεινοτάτοις ἐστὶν ἔνοχος"). The two discussions comprise, together, an examination of the character of Androtion. The matter of the destruction of the crowns is tucked into the second of these examinations, and comes under discussion right away (22.69): "What do you wish me to mention? How he 'repaired' the processional ornaments? How he broke up the crowns?"

Earlier in the speech, the orator had invited the jurors to examine the character of another Athenian in a more positive *exetasis* (22.30): "Now it is worth your while, men of Athens, to examine too (ἐξετάσαι) the character of Solon, who framed this law" ("ἄξιον τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸν θέντα τὸν νόμον ἐξετάσαι Σόλωνα"). In so overtly contrasting the earlier lawgiver with this Androtion—this ne'er-do-well proposer of shameful legislation—and again in contrasting the "glorious and enviable polis inscriptions" of the collection of crowns—"some of it dedicated before we were born"[16]—with "the strange and blasphemous inscriptions that he [Androtion] has written in their stead" on vessels newly fashioned from those crowns, the speaker persistently contrasts the old with the new. The contrast appears again in his sarcastic comment that the text of the new inscriptions, "'Made by direction of Androtion,'" is "just like the old inscriptions, is it not?"[17] Bringing the crowns into discussion, and assuring his audience that they "used to see the words written under the circlets of the crowns"—while he does not at all suggest that they have seen the new inscriptions on the new vessels—the orator moves his audience away from details of the laws and onto the topic of a possession of the polis, known to them all, and lost to them by the actions of the defendant.

2. Demosthenes 23.31 (Aristokrates), the law on the axon

In the case of the legal directive that is recalled by the phrase "as it is stated on the axon" in the speech against Aristokrates, the speaker moves again into the realm of monuments of the past. He is prosecuting Aristokrates for proposing a decree, which he characterizes as "making any man who should kill Charidemus liable to arrest" (23.11), and among his

aims is to show that the decree is in abrogation of the laws (23.18: "ὡς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τὸ ψήφισμ' εἴρηται"). He produces dozens of extracts from the prevailing laws and decrees, statute after statute, which he claims that the decree contravenes, and one of these cites a legal directive that had been inscribed on "the axon."

The reference to the legal directive "as it is stated on the axon" occurs in a back-and-forth conversation with the jurors about the prevailing law on homicide. The speaker first asks that the jurors be read an extract from the prevailing law (23.28). He then addresses his audience, engaging them on some details of that law in a series of short rhetorical questions (23.29–33). In the first and second of these exchanges, he promptly answers the questions: he informs his audience where in the prevailing law the definition of "murderers" is spelled out (23.30) and he names some of the legal penalties to which convicted murderers are exposed (23.31). When he comes to the legal directive "as it is stated on the axon," he involves his audience more directly in crafting the answer (23.31).

"ἀλλὰ πῶς; 'ὡς ἐν τῷ ἄξονι εἴρηται,' φησίν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τί;"

"And by what means (are murderers to be arrested)? 'As it is stated on the axon,' (the law) says. And what's that?"

He then informs them, first, that they all know the answer to the question "What's that?": "All of you know" ("πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὑμεῖς"); and then he starts to provide them an answer (23.31), but he pauses to describe a very public application of this part of the law "last year (πέρυσι)": "all (of you) saw the man arrested (πάντες ἑωρᾶθ' . . . ἀπαχθέντα) by them [the thesmothetai] in the Assembly."[18] By juxtaposing the phrases "all of you know" and "all (of you) saw," the speaker might be implying cause and effect, that is, that his audience knew the text "on the axon" because they had seen the law in action, but he does not say that. Lastly, he excerpts two terms from the extract (23.31)—the verbs "λυμαίνεσθαι" ("maltreat") and "ἀποινᾶν" ("amerce")—and says in respect to the first of these terms, and maybe also the second, "I know that is known to all" ("γνώριμον οἶδ' ὅτι πᾶσι")—before, now expectedly, he provides definitions of both. He does not explicitly say how his audience knows any of these points.

The mention of the axon in the speaker's argument supported his very explicit aim, throughout this speech and particularly in sections 23.22–100, of contrasting the legislation of "the lawgiver" (e.g., "ὁ τιθεὶς τὸν νόμον": 23.29 and often) with the legislation of Aristokrates ("ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων": 23.34). On his evidence, the prevailing law explicitly cited a directive that had been written on the axon. Once the venerable

monument had been mentioned in court, the speaker used the reference to draw out details of the competing acts of legislation: that is, the officials and the manner of seizure that had been authorized in the prevailing law in contrast with the specifications in the proposed decree.

CONCLUSION

The texts as they are described in these two passages cannot be catalogued as testimonia of inscribed monuments that were on display in the area of the Agora on the occasion of these speeches. To the contrary, the crowns that the speaker supposes had been seen by these jurors had subsequently been melted down, and he does not indicate whether he or his audience had ever seen a monument inscribed with the directive from the law "as it is stated on the axon." We gain, instead, the speaker's accounting of inscribed monuments that are known to him and to these jurors, which, according to his testimony, are a collection of labeled crowns—no longer extant in 355 BCE, which perhaps had been housed in temples, perhaps in the area of the Agora and on the Acropolis—and one part of the law that had been "stated on the axon" at an unspecified time at an unnamed location. None of these jurors, on their way to and from the court, would see those gold crowns, and on the evidence the speaker provides, at least, there is no reason to conclude that they would see the axon or any text copied from it.

Now, why the speaker presumes, boldly and aloud, that the texts on these specific monuments were familiar to these jurors might have to do with when and where the monuments had been on display, or with levels of literacy, or with how often, how recently, and in what context the texts or monuments had been mentioned in other venues. The persistent familiarity of these particular texts and monuments, even after they were no longer physically present, may also have had to do with the extraordinary physical forms they had taken: a collection of gold crowns and an axon were spectacular forms of epigraphical instruments at any time in Athens' history, and would have stood out as remarkable in the Athenian epigraphical terrain. For comparison with a modern inscribed monument, we might think of the iconic Liberty Bell—but the differences between these Athenian audiences and ours will limit the analogy.

The invoking of inscribed monuments throughout these forensic speeches indicates that the speaker expected his audience to be acquainted with some epigraphical terminology and, in these two remarkable instances, with some texts that had been on local display. We do not learn, from these passages, whether the Athenians' epigraphical knowledge extended also to less storied inscriptions. Here, in his efforts to sway

the jurors against the defendants Androtion and Aristokrates, the speaker introduces some popular icons from the local epigraphical record: gold crowns labeled with polis inscriptions that had been lost to the Athenians because of Androtion's actions and a legal directive from Athens' misty past. His characterization of these texts and monuments as being known to his audience provides us a partial glimpse into an Athenian citizen's working knowledge of inscribed texts in the mid-fourth century BCE and into the use that an orator could make of that knowledge in the courtroom.

APPENDIX: PUBLIC DOCUMENTS TO WHICH THE SPEAKER ALLUDES IN DEMOSTHENES 18–59

Excerpted here are passages in the forensic speeches of Demosthenes (speeches 18–59) in which, on my reading, the speaker refers to specific publicly available documents, including inscriptions and those written on less durable material, in such terms that it might be argued that his audience could have known them, but for which he makes no explicit claim that they do. Others might read these passages differently, and conclude that some of them do attest a ground of knowledge of public documents common to the orator and the jurors he addressed, and that some should belong properly to the sort of catalogue of testimonia of inscribed monuments attempted above. I collect these excerpts here to promote comparisons of the texts, and also to recall to the reader the tenor of the publicly available documents to which the speaker alludes in these speeches. I have generally cited only the first mention of a particular document in each speech, providing additional citations and excerpts if the description of the document is left incomplete at first mention.

I omit, from this list, statues, which are mentioned in these speeches without explicit reference to an accompanying inscription; horoi, none of which are claimed to be inscribed; laws and decrees that are cited without language suggesting that the texts are publicly accessible; hypotheticals, in which the orator's point seems to be that the document was not available for public view; contracts, letters, lists of enrollment, and other documents for which very restricted access is implied, excepting instances in which the speaker indicates that they have been consulted by a wider audience. I also omit the inscriptions labeling the gold crowns (Dem. 22.72–73 [Androtion]) and the law on the axon (Dem. 23.31 [Aristokrates]) which, I have argued in the paper, above, the speaker explicitly claims that his audience knew.

Translations are from the Loeb editions, altered only in the regularization of some spellings and of the names of monuments in the Agora.

DEM. 18 (ON THE CROWN)

18.111: "as for Aischines' topsy-turvy miscellany of arguments about the statutes transcribed for comparison (παραγεγραμμένων)."
18.289: "Read for his [Aischines'] benefit the epitaph, which the state resolved by public vote to inscribe upon their monument [i.e., the monument for those who died at Chaironeia]."

DEM. 19 (ON THE FALSE EMBASSY)

19.129: "As for the affidavit of refusal, there is an entry in the record-office at the Metroon, of which the public caretaker is in charge, and a decree in which he [Aischines] is mentioned by name."
19.271–272: "the record which declares Arthmios, son of Pythonax, of Zelea, to be enemy and foeman of the Athenian people and their allies, him and all his kindred . . . the inscription (τὰ γράμματα) stands at the right hand beside the great brazen Athena which was dedicated by the state as a memorial of victory in the Persian war, at the expense of the Greeks."

DEM. 20 (LEPTINES)

20.32: "the figures can be checked by the books of the grain-commissioners."
20.36: "copies of all these decrees on stone were set up by you in . . . the Peiraieus."
20.63–64: "the decrees passed in honor of the Thasians and the Byzantines . . . allow these inscriptions to hold good for all time, that . . . they . . . may be a memorial."
20.69: "being thus mentioned in his inscription; 'Whereas Konon,' it runs, 'freed the allies of Athens.'"
20.83: "the trophies that he [Chabrias] set up as general in your name stand plain for all men to see."
20.94: "Solon ordered that the laws should be exposed before the statues of the eponymous heroes."
20.100: "You know there is a law making death the penalty for anyone who breaks his promise to the Assembly or one of the councils or lawcourts."
20.102: "Leptines has either never read Solon's laws or else does not understand them."
20.112: ". . . an inscription in the Stoa of the Herms. Perhaps indeed the inscription will be read to you."

20.115: "the decree in which these gifts are recorded stands in the name of Alkibiades."
20.149: "grants for services which the people themselves attested by inscriptions in the temples, and which are indeed known to all men."

DEM. 21 (MEIDIAS)

21.103: "this notice posted up before the Eponymous Heroes for all men to read, 'Euktemon of the deme Lousia has indicted Demosthenes of the deme Paiania for desertion of his post.'"
21.169–170: ". . . others have set up many glorious trophies (τρόπαια) to the credit of the state. . . . You would never have tolerated it if anyone had added this to the inscription on their monument (στήλη)."

DEM. 22 (ANDROTION)

22.70: "every taxpayer was certain to check the accounts."
22.73: "the saucers which that lewd fellow has had made in their place bear the inscription, 'Made by direction of Androtion.'"

DEM. 23 (TIMOKRATES)

24.178: "every taxpayer was certain to check the accounts."

DEM. 25 (ARISTOGEITON I)

25.4: "You who are to give the verdict have come here knowing better than we, the accusers, that this man, since he is a state debtor and registered as such in the Acropolis, . . . knowing the facts and not needing to be told them."
25.28: "shut out from your right of speech . . . by so many heavy penalties, which are registered in the temple of the Goddess."
25.28: "debarred by . . . the registers of the archons and of the collectors of taxes, by the indictment for wrongful entry."
25.57–58: ". . . he dragged her off to the auction room at the aliens' registry, and if her tax had not happened to be duly paid. . . . To prove the truth of this statement, call . . . the sales commissioners before whom he carried her."

25.70: "Well, of Aristogeiton's debt to the state the terms still exist, namely the laws under which all defaulters are registered; and the horos is the wooden table of the law deposited in the temple of the Goddess."
25.71: "Moreover, there are three distinct debts registered and forming the ground of the information. Two Aristogeiton has entered in the register; the third he has not registered, but he is prosecuting Aristo of Alopeke for malicious entry."
25.78: "You will find record of delations, arrests, informations—but no services."
25.99: "How will you make your way to the Metroon, if you wish to do so? For surely you will never go individually to consult the laws as if they were still valid, unless you have now collectively confirmed them before you depart."
25.99: "How on the first of each month will you climb the Acropolis and pray for blessings on the state and on yourselves, when the defendant and his worthy father are registered there, and you have given your verdict clean against your oaths and the documents there preserved?"

[DEM.] 26 (ARISTOGEITON II)

26.8: "whenever a man lodges with the judicial archons an objection against a decree or law, that law or decree is invalid."
26.24: "you . . . have fixed death as the penalty if anyone cites a law which does not exist."

DEM. 29 (APHOBOS III, FOR PHANOS)

29.29: "for these were things that anyone could see, the laws, namely, and the amount of my property which these men had taken as plunder."

DEM. 35 (LAKRITOS)

35.29–30: "we at the same time kept an eye on them to see whether they . . . paid any harbor dues . . . nor had any harbor dues been paid in their name." [at Peiraieus]

DEM. 37 (PANTAINETOS)

37.22: "having also caused me to be inscribed as debtor to the treasury."

DEM. 39 (BOIOTOS I)

39.4–5: "he enrolled the defendant at the Apatouria as Boiotos on the list of the clansmen, and the other as Pamphilos . . . but the defendant went and enrolled himself on the register as Mantitheos."
39.15: "children will be entered on the list of state debtors."

DEM. 40 (BOIOTOS II)

40.22: "to this day Pamphilos stands inscribed as a debtor to the treasury."

DEM. 42 (PHAINIPPOS)

42.14: "I . . . gave in my inventory at the Strategeion."
42.22: "each of them set up a tripod in honor of choregic victors at the Dionysia."

[DEM.] 47 (EUERGOS AND MNESIBOULOS)

47.18: "shook your faith in . . . the inscriptions on the public stelai."
47.21: "the law of Periandros forced us and laid command upon us to receive the list of those who owed equipment to the state."
47.22: "both their names, then, had been inscribed on the stele as indebted to the state for the ship's equipment, and the magistrates, receiving their names from those in office before them."
47.24: "I shall produce as witnesses . . . the magistrate who gave the names over to me."
47.34–36: "when . . . the decree had been passed by the senate . . . having the decree in my hand . . . I showed him the decree of the senate."
47.71: "when I had . . . looked at the laws of Drakon on the stele."

[DEM.] 50 (POLYKLES)

50.6: "the members of the senate and the demarch should make out lists of the demesmen and reports of available seamen."

[DEM.] 52 (KALLIPPOS)

52.4–5: "It is the custom of all bankers . . . to write down . . . . 'I demand, therefore, that you show me your books.'"
52.14: "he took back the papers from the public arbitrator."

DEM. 57 (EUBOULIDES)

57.64–65: "the demesmen . . . chiseled out the decree which the demesmen had passed in my honor . . . so utterly insane . . . myself to destroy an inscription which brought me honor."

[DEM.] 58 (THEOKRINES)

58.8–10: "This denunciation . . . was received by . . . the secretary of the overseers of the port, and was exposed to public view for a long time in front of the meeting-place of the board. . . . Now read the deposition of those who saw the denunciation exposed to view. . . . The denunciation was exposed for a long time to public view. . . ."
58.18: "the members of the tribe . . . were coming up and were planning to take a copy of what stood written in the register."
58.18–21: "be listed on the Acropolis as a debtor to the state . . . whether he has been entered on the public register or not."
58.56: "Read the stele."

[DEM.] 59 (NEAIRA)

59.76: "This law they wrote on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Dionysos by the altar in Lemnai (and this stele even now stands, showing the inscription in Attic characters, nearly effaced). . . . They set it up in the most ancient and most sacred sanctuary of Dionysos in Limnai, in order that few only might have knowledge of the inscription."
59.97–98: "Pausanias, the king of the Lakedaimonians, . . . inscribed a distich upon the tripod at Delphi. . . . The distich was as follows: 'Pausanias, supreme commander of the Greeks, when he had destroyed the host of the Medes, dedicated to Phoibos this memorial.' . . . and the Plataians . . . compelled them [the Amphiktyones] to erase the distich and to inscribe the names of all the states which had had a part in the work."
59.105: "that the names of those who had passed the scrutiny should be inscribed on a stone stele and should be set up in the Acropolis near the

temple of the Goddess, to the end that the favor granted to them should be preserved for their descendants and that each one of these might be in a position to prove his relationship to one of those receiving the grant."

NOTES

1. R. E. Wycherley in *Agora* 3:4. I first learned the plain facts of these monuments from our honorand, and I am grateful for that introduction, although some of those lessons are lost. It is a cheerful task to honor John, and I will not forget his inspiring pleasure in these well-worn topics and his thoughtfulness toward those who revisit them.

2. A topic taken up by Ronald S. Stroud, "State Documents in Archaic Athens," in *Athens Comes of Age: From Solon to Salamis*, ed. William A. P. Childs (Princeton: n.p., 1978), 20–42. Stroud cites favorably the following testimony of the orators for inscribed monuments still standing in their day: [Dem.] 47.71 (Euergos and Mnesiboulos), for a republication of Drakon's law on homicide being on view at the Stoa Basileios ca. 353 BCE (page 25, where Stroud identifies "the stele" mentioned in [Dem.] 47.71 with the stele *IG* 1^3.104, inscribed in 409/8 BCE); and Andok. 1.43, for the decree forbidding the torture of Athenian citizens (dating to the archonship of Skamandrios, "probably 510/9 B.C.") seeming "still to have been known in its original form as late as 415" (page 29); he suggests that the testimony of Lysias (13.27, 13.59) for this sixth-century decree might not be firsthand.

3. On this topic, see James P. Sickinger, "The Laws of Athens: Publication, Preservation, Consultation," in *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, ed. Edward M. Harris and Lene Rubinstein (London: Duckworth, 2004), 93–109. Drawing on the citation of laws and the naming of laws in a broad range of sources, from which he concludes that archives in the Metroon were "the normal source of laws and other state documents cited in legal proceedings" (page 106) while allowing that "inscriptions too may have served as the source for many laws, even in cases in which a stele is not mentioned" (page 105), Sickinger is here interested only in passing with the question of which specific inscriptions were standing at the time they were mentioned—for more on that topic, see James P. Sickinger, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 161—and not with which specific inscriptions might have been familiar to jurors. His study has provided a jumping-off point for me to take up that latter question.

4. For the purpose of this paper, I draw on all the forensic speeches in this group, which includes some that are probably Demosthenic and some that are probably or certainly not Demosthenic, accepting, as Wycherley did, the view that "some of the [Demosthenic] speeches generally regarded as spurious nevertheless provide good 4th-century evidence" (*Agora* 3:4); on the question of their authorship, I follow the latest published opinion of Douglas M. MacDowell (*Demosthenes the Orator* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2009], where his attributions are trackable through his Index of Sources, pages 441–450). Translations are from

the Loeb editions except in speech 23, which are my own, and where otherwise indicated.

5. Lionel Pearson, "Historical Allusions in the Attic Orators" (originally published in 1941), in *Selected Papers of Lionel Pearson,* ed. Donald Lateiner and Susan A. Stephens (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 198 and 200, where he adds (page 200) that, among the orators, Demosthenes is particularly apt to point us to the "aspects of Athenian history in which the average Athenian was interested. We can be reasonably confident that Demosthenes made his choice shrewdly; about Aeschines and Isocrates we cannot, perhaps, be quite so sure." He elsewhere (pages 194–195 with n. 16) more explicitly disparages Aischines' oratorical skill.

6. Pearson, "Historical Allusions," 190, 200. Pearson generally excludes from his study "allusions to events later than the end of the Peloponnesian War" (page 209), and by the mid-fourth century, few of the events that he studies could have been personally witnessed by the orators or the men they addressed in court.

7. An acknowledgment of Athenian citizens' familiarity with the Agora is provided at Dem. 25.51 (Aristogeiton I): "There are something like twenty thousand citizens in all. Every single one of them frequents the market-place on some business (you may be sure), either public or private." Familiarity with the broader area of the Acropolis and the Agora can be presumed even more for the Athenian citizens operating in the popular courts of the mid-fourth century BCE, which were constructed within that circuit; for these courts' locations, see Alan L. Boegehold in *Agora* 28:22–23 (with figure 1).

8. The passage appears again, nearly verbatim, in Dem. 24.180–181 (Timokrates). I follow, here, the Loeb translation, except that I have added the word "polis" to translate "τῆς πόλεως" (in the expression "polis inscriptions"); "civic" is another possible translation.

9. On the location of these inscriptions in respect to the crowns, Diane Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 104–105, conjectures that they were written on labels attached to the crowns, citing the directive in the decree *IG* 2^2.212 (346/5 BCE), proposed by Androtion, that a group of gold crowns dedicated to Athena Polias be placed by the athlothetai "in her temple, with the inscription" ([trans. D. Harris]; lines 35–36, "τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεὼ ἀνατιθέναι τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπιγράψαντας"), whose text is then dictated. But, as Harris indicates in her translation of "ἐπιγράψαντας" ("with the inscription"), the directive in *IG* 2^2.212 is vague as to precisely where the athlothetai should write the text. The phrase "τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπιγράψαντας" allows for the interpretation that the athlothetai were to inscribe the text directly onto the crowns, which is the meaning in the comparable description of a text inscribed "on the cups" under the orders of Androtion (Dem. 22.73: "ἐπὶ ταῖς φιάλαις . . . ἐπιγέγραπται . . . ἐπὶ τῶν φιαλῶν γεγραμμένον"). We might speculate, too, that the gold crowns mentioned in Dem. 22.72–73 did not all have the same type of label; some crowns are likely to have arrived pre-labeled, perhaps by their dedicants, and the varying forms and preserved states of the offerings probably made it practical for decisions about labeling to be reserved to various caretakers.

A potential alternative, that the texts accompanying the crowns were inscribed on stelai or on stelai bases, the stelai being fitted with projecting supports from which the crowns could be displayed, seems ruled out in the case of the crowns

described in *IG* 2².212, since those crowns were to be set "in the temple," but it remains a possibility for the crowns described in Dem. 22.72. See, for a possible example from the Eleusinion, W. Kendrick Pritchett, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 9 (1940): 97–101, no. 18 (*SEG* 10:321; now *IG* 1³.953, *CEG* 317; *Agora* 18:10, no. A10), and for a second possible example, cited as a comparandum within that discussion, pages 99–100 (now *SEG* 48:662); I owe this suggestion to Joe Day. When displayed inside a building, crowns might have been suspended from supports more suited to indoor display.

10. Dem. 22.73: "ἐπὶ ταῖς φιάλαις δ' ἃς ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμῖν ὁ πόρνος οὗτος, 'Ἀνδροτίωνος ἐπιμελουμένου' ἐπιγέγραπται."

11. Harris, *Treasures,* observes that one of the crowns mentioned in Dem. 22.72–73 (that of "Conon from the sea-fight with the Lacedaemonians") might be identified with an entry in the inventories (page 105, n. 3), those of 371/0 and 368/7 BCE for the Erechtheion, where a crown is listed as "στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν Κόνων ἀνέθηκε" (pages 232–233; page 215, inventory VI.59; *IG* 2².1424a, line 347; *IG* 2².1425, lines 284–285). She speculates that the public might have seen these dedications on festival days (page 105), "when these items would be brought out and displayed or paraded in public."

12. I depart from the Loeb text in all translations of speech 23.

13. Stroud, "State Documents in Archaic Athens," 24, traces the known history of the axones, and makes the case for their survival "at least until about the middle of the fifth century" and possibly beyond. For his studies on Drakon's law on homicide and on the axones and kyrbeis, see Ronald S. Stroud, *Drakon's Law on Homicide* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), and Ronald S. Stroud, *The Axones and Kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), where he has demonstrated that some text from at least two axones was reinscribed on a stele in 409/8 BCE (now *IG* 1³.104; formerly *IG* 1².115). The evidence for the date of the inscribing of the stele, for the identification of the text it contains, and for the location at which it was to be erected, "[πρόσ]θε[ν]" the Stoa Basileios, is provided in the prescript of *IG* 1³.104. See also *Agora* 3:25, no. 23, for the association of that stele with the Stoa Basileios prior to the discovery of the building, and see T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," *Hesperia* 40 (1971): 243–261, for the building's discovery.

14. Dem. 25.99 (Aristogeiton I): "πῶς δ' εἰς τὸ μητρῷον βαδιεῖσθε, ἄν τι βούλησθε; οὐ γὰρ δήπου καθ' ἕν' ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ὡς ἐπὶ κυρίους τοὺς νόμους πορεύσεται, εἰ νῦν μὴ βεβαιώσαντες αὐτοὺς ἔξιθ' ἅπαντες κοινῇ." The implication of this passage, that the jurors could consult documents in the Metroon, is firmly defended by Sickinger, *Public Records and Archives*, 249, n. 10.

15. The passage at Dem. 25.99 does not explicitly indicate whether the laws "εἰς τὸ μητρῷον" were inscribed. Sickinger, *Public Records and Archives*, 148–149, clarifies the distinction between archives housed in the Metroon and inscriptions, whether set up near the Metroon or elsewhere.

16. Dem. 22.71: "ὧν ἕνι' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς ἀνετέθη."

17. Dem. 22.73: "ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; τοῦτο τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιγράμμασιν."

18. Dem. 23.31: "τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πέρυσι πάντες ἑωρᾶθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀπαχθέντα." The terms of the directive at 23.31 are restated at 23.216 ("ὁ δεύτερος νόμος"), but the public arrest is not mentioned again.

14

Sophokles' *Philoktetes*: The Cult of Herakles Dramatized

Christina A. Salowey

Sophokles' *Philoktetes* focuses on the conflict between Odysseus' determination, with Neoptolemus as his intermediary, to bring Philoktetes and the bow he carries to Troy and Philoktetes' obdurate refusal to cooperate. The conflict is resolved by the advice of Herakles, who makes a *deus ex machina* appearance at the conclusion of the play.[1] Scholars have characterized this *deus ex machina*, unique in the extant plays of Sophokles, as everything from a forced reversal of the dramatic thrust to the natural conclusion of the action of the play.[2] Gill offers that the device acts to reveal "the underlying theme of the play. . . that the gods respect openness not manipulation, and the procedures of friendship (persuasion and consent) not of compulsion . . ."[3] Sophokles constructed the narrative of the play to emphasize the importance of noble interactions among men and heroic friendship, but he kept Herakles in the forefront, by referencing the hero and his relationship to Philoktetes continually.[4] Sophokles highlighted, perhaps for the first time, Philoktetes' willingness to ignite Herakles' funerary pyre on Mt. Oita, an act that created a bond of obligation between the two characters.[5] The playwright also altered the agonists of this story from his epic and tragic predecessors,[6] so that the main characters in their personalities, obsessions, and actions, are emblematic of the concerns of the cult of Herakles in the fifth century BCE: military success, ephebic initiation, and the curing of disease. If we examine allusions to Herakles and his cult throughout the play, the epiphany is not only the logical dénouement, but it may be argued that Sophokles intended the play as an introduction to the cult concerns of Herakles for an Athenian audience. The play was entertainment performed as part of a religious

festival, and the stunning appearance of Herakles would not only have delighted the Athenians who viewed it in the theater of Dionysus in 409 BCE, but also appealed to their willingness to be overcome by religious awe.[7] The underlying message of Herakles as a valid source of divine guidance culminated in the deity's arrival in the conclusion.

THE TRADITION

A brief summary of earlier versions of the Philoktetes' story will clarify the narrative choices made by Sophokles in his tragedy. As we shall see, while Sophokles does not add new characters to the story, he does increase the prominence of Neoptolemus, and sharpens the characterizations of Philoktetes and Odysseus to move the action in a surprising direction. The playwright also incorporates Herakles into the play by referencing the Mt. Oita apotheosis, emphasizing the origins of the sought-after bow, and alluding to Philoktetes' service to the hero.

Philoktetes' abandonment on Lemnos before the Trojan War because of an incurable and festering snake bite is a standard element of the epic cycle.[8] In the Catalogue of Ships, the poet relates the lonely suffering on Lemnos of Philoktetes, named as the leader of seven ships from Magnesia[9], but indicates that the Argive force will soon require his services. In the *Ilias Parva,* Helenus, the Trojan seer, captured by Odysseus, reveals the required events and elements for Troy's capture. This oracular pronouncement motivates Diomedes to seek out Philoktetes, and Odysseus Neoptolemus, the young son of Achilles, from Skyros.[10] Both the injured veteran and the young warrior are necessary for the final destruction of Troy. Although the epic tradition cites Philoktetes' prowess with the bow and eventual dispatching of Paris with that weapon, there is no mention that the fatal arrows once belonged to Herakles. The pedigree of Philoktetes' unerring weapon most likely belongs to the Classical period, developing from or into Herakles' bestowal of the bow and arrows on Philoktetes in gratitude for igniting his funeral pyre on Mt. Oita.[11] The tragedians consider the capture and transference of both Philoktetes and the weapons of Herakles to Troy as an essential part of the tale.[12]

The expedition to retrieve Philoktetes was the subject of plays by the three illustrious tragedians of the fifth century BCE, but only Sophokles' version is extant today. Fragments of Aischylos' play,[13] dated to approximately 475 BCE, and that of Euripides,[14] dated to 431 BCE, have been collected, but Dio Chrysostom's essays comparing the three plays (*Discourses* 52) and his reconstructed prologue of Euripides' play (*Discourses* 59) provide the best, if limited, information about these versions. In Aischylos, an unrecognized Odysseus steals the bow from Philoktetes, who is attended

by a chorus of Lemnian inhabitants, and this theft persuades Philoktetes to follow along to Troy since he has been deprived of his one means of survival, the unconquerable bow of Herakles. In Euripides' play, Athena disguises Odysseus, who approaches Philoktetes to let him know an embassy from Troy soon shall fetch him and the bow.[15] Diomedes accompanies him, and, if some later artistic representations can reliably be associated with Euripides' play, he may have been an accomplice in the theft of the bow from Philoktetes.[16] A chorus of Lemnians apologizes for their neglect of the diseased man, but Euripides also introduces a character named Aktor as a frequent Lemnian visitor to Philoktetes. The climactic episode may have been an *agon* between Odysseus and Paris to win Philoktetes and his bow in order to be victors at Troy. The *agon* was most likely a draw and Calder states that Athena settled the contest.[17]

SOPHOKLES' VERSION

Sophokles' play is also set on the island of Lemnos, near Philoktetes' rupestral abode,[18] but the chorus is a group of men sailing with Neoptolemus.[19] Odysseus describes the abandonment of Philoktetes on the island, and outlines the plan to capture the bow from the injured man. Neoptolemus, after Odysseus' coaching, gains the confidence of the embittered, diseased man and agrees to transport him to the mainland. Philoktetes' eagerness to flee the island is hastened at this point by the appearance of a trader, either Odysseus or a spy from Odysseus in disguise, who reports Odysseus' imminent arrival on the island to take Philoktetes back to Troy. Soon after, Philoktetes has a spectacular attack of his peculiar podalgia, complete with oozing pus and black gore, and he relinquishes the bow to Neoptolemus. The chorus urges him to take to the ships with the bow, but the young man hesitates. Odysseus appears on the scene as Philoktetes awakes, and Philoktetes instantly recognizes he has been betrayed. Neoptolemus and Odysseus run off to the ships with the bow, but Neoptolemus, with a pang of conscience, runs back and returns the bow to Philoktetes. Odysseus is outraged and Philoktetes scares him off with a death threat. The rest of the play belongs to Neoptolemus, Philoktetes, and finally, Herakles. Neoptolemus tries to persuade Philoktetes to go to Troy, but he will not yield. Neoptolemus decides to honor his agreement to take him home, but Herakles intervenes and urges them both to take the path to Troy. Herakles tells them that first Philoktetes must be healed at Troy, then he and the young Neoptolemus must fight together to sack Troy.

Sophokles retains many of his predecessors' plot elements—the instigator is Odysseus, the bow is obtained before Philoktetes is persuaded,

Philoktetes despises Greeks—but his innovations are noteworthy. The figure of Neoptolemus, who appeared in epic versions but not in surviving tragic versions, is given a central role in Sophokles. Odysseus, although not the central protagonist, initiates the action, and maintains a consistent presence in the play that moves forward the military mission, i.e., to capture the bow. In Aischylos and Euripides, the bow is stolen, but in Sophokles, it is willingly relinquished by Philoktetes into the hands of Neoptolemus, but then also willingly returned. Neoptolemos, as the agent of transference for the bow from Philoktetes to Odysseus, is put in the center of the struggle between the two older warriors, so that his youthful inexperience and indecision are emphasized. The absence of a chorus of Lemnians emphasizes Philoktetes' total isolation on the island and makes his disease his only companion. These alterations bring each of the main characters into sharper focus so that their behaviors and concerns resonate with elements of Herakles' cult, preparing for the appearance of Herakles in the final act. Herakles' pronouncements bring all the conflicts to an end. In Aischylos and Euripides, the plays reached their conclusions after a satisfying series of debates; the Sophokles rendition rushes terrifyingly towards an impasse and a complete reversal of the mythological tradition. Until Herakles appears to turn matters to right, the Athenian audience might have had a few puzzled moments thinking, "but, Troy did fall; Philoktetes and Neoptolemus did fight together on the walls."

ALLUSIONS TO HERAKLES

The audience has been well-prepared for the appearance of Herakles by references to the site of the hero's apotheosis, Mt. Oita, and by repeated reminders that he bequeathed his bow and arrows to Philoktetes. In the prologue, Odysseus calls Philoktetes "the Malian son of Poeas" (line 4).[20] In contrast to the epic tradition, Sophokles makes Philoktetes a Malian hero to connect him more strongly with the funerary pyre of Herakles on Mt. Oita. Neoptolemus (line 453) also calls Philoktetes "the offspring of an Oitaian father," and Philoktetes longs to see the Oitaian land of his father and friends (lines 664–665). At the end of the first episode, the chorus expands upon these invocations of the Oitaian land culminating in its definition as the site of Herakles' immolation. They cite Neoptolemus' agreement to lead Philoktetes to his paternal home, "the abode of Malian nymphs, by the banks of the Spercheios river, where the bronze-shielded man,[21] radiant with divine fire, drew near all the gods, above the ridges of Oita" (πατρίαν ἄγει πρὸς αὐλὰν/ Μαλιάδων νυμφᾶν,/ Σπερχειοῦ τε παρ' ὄ/χθας, ἵν' ὁ χάλκασπις ἀνὴρ θεοῖς/ πλάθει πᾶσιν θείῳ πυρὶ

παμφαής/ Οἴτας ὑπὲρ ὄχθων" (lines 724–729).[22] Later on, Philoktetes again references the conflagration, begging Neoptolemus to burn him in a Lemnian fire as he, Philoktetes, once did for the son of Zeus, clearly Herakles, the good deed in return for which he received the bow (lines 799–803). By the end of the second episode then, Philoktetes' difficult but necessary service to Herakles and the resulting bestowal of the invincible weapons have been clearly established.

The arrows are called "the unconquerable weapon of gods," (line 198) recalling several generations of divinities that created them and made them divine. According to Apollodorus, Apollo gave Herakles the weapons, and Herakles was both the son of Zeus and a god himself. Philoktetes, when introducing himself to Neoptolemus for the first time calls himself "the master of the Heraklean weapons" (line 262) as a means of self-identity. When Neoptolemus has control of the bow and Philoktetes recognizes he has been deceived, he bemoans the loss of the "sacred bow of Herakles, the son of Zeus" (line 943). At the end of the play, Philoktetes' claim that the "weapons of Herakles" (line 1406) will protect both him and Neoptolemus seems to summon the divinity himself to the scene. The bow and the arrows are firmly connected with Herakles, and, as discussed below, would have been a constant visual symbol of the hero on the stage from Philoktetes' first arrival on the scene.

Philoktetes also calls himself "the successor of Herakles" (line 1132). Indeed, the divinity is a heroic mirror image of Philoktetes' own undeserved suffering, and, therefore, well-suited to persuade the betrayed Philoktetes to rejoin society and aid in the Trojan War. These references verbally keep Herakles in the awareness of the audience, but his deific arrival in the play's conclusion is also heralded by plot's emphasis on activities that often come under the purview of the hero's cult.

CHARACTERIZATIONS AND THE CULT OF HERAKLES

The characterizations of the three main players—Odysseus, Neoptolemus, and Philoktetes—are established in the first 110 lines. The playwright, through speech and action, defines them clearly as military man, ephebe, and invalid respectively, personas that reflect Herakles' main cult functions in the fifth century BCE. Sophokles opens the play on the desolate beach on Lemnos in front of the "cave with two mouths" (line 16) where Odysseus abandoned Philoktetes. The opening dialogue between Odysseus and Neoptolemus not only introduces the characters of the two speakers clearly, but also summons an image of Philoktetes in Odysseus' description of the cave and the articles in it and Neoptolemus' discovery of the "diseased soaked rags" (lines 38–39). The meager and pathetic

physical traces of Philoktetes' existence conjure a more striking portrait of the suffering exile than if he were on stage. Odysseus plays the role of the inveterate military strategist, and reveals the plan to capture Philoktetes' bow by craft (line 101). Odyssey states that persuasion will not work and force would be useless against the "unavoidable, death-carrying arrows" (lines 103–105). Neoptolemus is presented as a young man with a strong sense of honor, loathe to gain his ends by stratagems, but also reluctant to disobey his superior, (lines 86–95). Thus a strong impression of each man is created from the beginning of the action. Odysseus is concerned with the success of this military operation and knows that Troy will not be taken without Herakles' bow, which Philoktetes possesses. Neoptolemus, the young son of Achilles and a neophyte at the arts of war, is initiated into the world of men through his role in persuading and capturing Philoktetes. Philoktetes is the embodiment of disease, suffering an unhealed and persistently painful foot wound caused by a snake bite. His constant moans and cries of pain led to his abandonment on the island of Lemnos.

Before examining in further detail the Heraklean aspects of each character's persona, Sophokles' presentation, in contrast to his predecessors, of the prophecy of Helenus that motivated the expedition to Lemnos needs to be discussed.[23] In the epic tradition, Helenus' revelations prompt Diomedes to bring Philoktetes from Lemnos to Troy, where he, healed by Machaon, kills Paris in single combat; Odysseus leads Neoptolemus from Skyros and gives him his father's arms (*Ilias Parva)*. Pindar mentions that Philoktetes, a skilled bowman, was brought by several heroes to Troy for the purpose of sacking it, (Pind., *Pyth* 1.52). A scholiast on this passage indicates that Bacchylides agreed with this story in one of his dithyrambs and adds that the prophecy of Helenus revealed that Philoktetes with the weapons of Herakles would bring about the destruction of Troy (Bacchyl., frag. 7). In Sophokles, the prophecy is revealed piecemeal. In the prologue, the prophecy is not mentioned explicitly, but by the end of the play, has been progressively revealed by the Trader (lines 604–616), and by Neoptolemus (lines 1329–1342), with confirmation by Herakles (lines 1423–1440). Neoptolemus' statement of the prophecy is worth careful scrutiny (lines 1326–1335):

σὺ γὰρ νοσεῖς τόδ᾽ ἄλγος ἐκ θείας τύχης,
Χρύσης πελασθεὶς φύλακος, ὅς τον᾽ ἀκαλυφῆ
σηκὸν φυλάσσει κρύφιος οἰκουρῶν ὄφις·
καὶ παῦλαν ἴσθι τῆσδε μή ποτ᾽ ἄν τυχεῖν
νόσου βαρείας, ἕως ἄν αὐτὸς ἥλιος
ταύτῃ μὲν αἴρῃ, τῇδε δ᾽ αὖ δύνῃ πάλιν,
πρὶν ἄν τὰ Τροίας πεδί᾽ ἑκὼν αὐτὸς μόλῃς,
καὶ τοῖν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν Ἀσκληπίδαιν

νόσου μαλαχθῆς τῆσδε, καὶ τὰ πέργαμα
ξὺν τοῖσδε τόξοις ξύν τ᾽ ἐμοὶ πέρσας φανῆς

You are sick and the pain of the sickness is divine will because you approached the Guardian of Chryse, the serpent who secretly watches the unroofed shrine as a guardian. Know that you will not encounter relief from the oppressive disease, while the same sun rises before you here, and sets there again, until willingly you come to the plain of Troy, and meet among us the sons of Asklepios who will relieve your sickness; then with this bow and with me, you will conquer the citadel of Troy.

He recites the whole prophecy and its specifications: the disease must be cured, the bow must be used, and Philoktetes must accomplish the victory with Neoptolemus. Sophokles' version expands the stipulations to include the bow and the wounded warrior, the healing of the disease, and the cooperative fighting of Neoptolemus and Philoktetes for shared glory in the sack of Troy. Each specification aligns with a cult concern of Herakles—the paired fighting is the initiation of an ephebe into warfare, the healing of the wound reflects his health-giving function, and the bow with the warrior reflects his divine aid in successful military exploits.

The figure of Odysseus reflects the military side of Herakles as well. Odysseus is, as usual, crafty, devious, and bent on winning; he is very driven to obtain the bow to achieve a strategic advantage at Troy.[24] He repeats four times (lines 68–69, 111–122, 982–983, and 1056–1059) that the bow is needed to sack Troy, escalating from the notion that Philoktetes *and* the bow are required to saying that the bow alone is necessary, and going as far as saying that Teucer or even he, himself, will use the bow to accomplish the task. What is clear in his mind is that the bow is necessary for military victory at Troy. He tells Neoptolemus: "These weapons alone will capture Troy" (αἱρεῖ τὰ τόξα ταῦτα τὴν Τροίαν μόνα, line 113). The bow is emblematic of unconquerable, brute force, and, clearly, Odysseus believes in it wholeheartedly. The seizure of the bow is necessary for military victory and, to attain this, Philoktetes must be deceived or coerced. But the violent force of the bow alone (μόνα), in Odysseus' mind, will bring victory.

The bow is a prominent symbol both in the text[25] and surely as a prop on stage,[26] from which it never disappears once Philoktetes enters carrying it.[27] The bow carries with it not only inerrable aim but also a responsibility to act in heroic manner, often accomplishing distasteful or unpopular tasks. This bow is "the special instrument of *arete*, that is, of heroic achievement."[28] Most Athenians would be accustomed to viewing Herakles in art with the bow, a potent image of the hero, and one of his standard attributes, especially when he is involved in warfare. The aggressive stance of Herakles is usually accompanied by the bow, even if

he is not actively using the weapon. In fact, in many action scenes where Herakles is using his club, the bow is merely a prop. Even in scenes where Herakles is not using weapons at all, as when wrestling the Nemean Lion, the bow and its quiver hang in the background. The bow symbolizes Herakles' invincibility; it is the bow that sacked Troy previously, and even though in other hands, will destroy Troy again. The bow will allow Odysseus to achieve his military goal, the siege and capture of Troy, and he is willing to lie and deceive in order to obtain the bow and accomplish this mission.

The bow is a strong symbol of Herakles' military process, but the hero, in his mythological persona, is strongly connected with other martial maneuvers; he is a warrior *par excellence*. He accomplished the first sack of Troy (Hom *Il.* 5.640–643 and 648–651),[29] he waged a protracted war against Augeas and the Eleans (Paus. 5.1.10), and his fighting strength was a requirement for the success of the Olympians in the great Gigantomachy (Hes,. *Theog*. 954–955).

Herakles, as a divinity, is connected with historical instances of warfare. There are eight instances in the ancient literature of an army camping in a *Herakleion*, a sanctuary of Herakles, ranging in date from 490–200 BCE.[30] The Athenians were well aware of this practice: Herodotus (6.108 and 6.116) reports that the Athenians were camped in the *temenos* of Herakles at Marathon before the battle in 490 BCE. The army moved from the *Herakleion* at Marathon to the one at Kynosarges, Athens, after the battle, to protect the city. The Athenian audience would easily connect Herakles with a military maneuver. Sanctuaries of Herakles are entwined with the actions of armies and commanders in other ways as well. Military omens also often occurred at sanctuaries of Herakles.[31] At the sanctuary of Herakles at Thasos, inscriptions indicate that the cult is primarily one of military contests, reviews, and parades, as well as ritual or sacred banquets.[32]

The martial nature of Herakles is embedded in the symbol of the bow and the character of Odysseus expresses the need for this aspect. However, Odysseus is mistaken in believing that the bow is the sole aspect of Heraklean attributes that is needed. Philoktetes also needs to be healed and repatriated, no matter how repulsive this act might be to Neoptolemus.[33]

Philoktetes seems to have very little identity apart from the disease of his foot, the wound that is extremely debilitating but persistently nonfatal.[34] Before Philoktetes even appears on stage, the identification of his cave is secured by the recognition of the disease-soaked rags that Neoptolemus finds "rags, full with the heavy effusions of the disease" (ῥάκη, βαρείας του νοσηλείας πλέα, line 39). Just as the foul effusions from his wound permeate the fibers of the rag, so is Philoktetes' nature saturated with the taint of disease. When Philoktetes tells his story (lines 254–316),

he dwells on the wound and the disease and what necessities it forces on him.[35]

During his first moments on stage, Philoktetes states that "my disease always flourishes" (ἡ δ᾽ ἐμὴ νόσος / ἀεὶ τέθηλε, lines 258–259), and, at the same time, that he is "wasting away from the savage disease" (ἀγρίᾳ / νόσῳ καταφθίνοντα, lines 265–266). The use of the personal pronoun when he mentions the disease emphasizes the close relationship between the sickness and the man. The contrast between the disease flourishing and Philoktetes wasting away indicates that the disease is becoming Philoktetes. Forms of the word νόσος are used five times in this passage (lines 258, 266, 281, 299, and 314).[36] When Philoktetes states that he has lived for ten years, in hunger, "feeding the devouring disease" (βόσκων τὴν ἀδηφάγον νόσον, line 313) the link between the disease and his physical being is unmistakable.

He feeds not himself but the disease, and, towards the end of the play is unwilling, or perhaps unable, to conceive of life without this painful companion. To Neoptolemus' suggestion that they go to Troy towards "men who can stop his festering gait and save him from the pains of disease" (lines 1378–1379), Philoktetes responds, "what horrible advice do you offer, what are you saying?" (ὦ δεινὸν αἶνον αἰνέσας, τί φής ποτε; line 1380). His outrage stems not merely from incredulity that a return to the Greeks could be a benefit, but also from the inconceivability of being separated from his disease. A stronger advocate for his return to health is required in the figure of Herakles, who, although he does not effect the cure, is able to personally send Asklepios to Troy to do so (...ἐγὼ δ' Ἀσκληπιὸν / παυστῆρα πέμψω σῆς νόσου πρὸς Ἴλιον, lines 1437–1438). Herakles is an appropriate divinity to broker this deal because of his own connections with healing.

While Herakles is not usually remembered for improving the health of others, there is evidence for his association with medicinal cults in the fifth century BCE.[37] In Athens, Herakles was worshipped in or near the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis as a healing divinity.[38] In Athens and other areas in Greece, Herakles' healing abilities manifest in three ways. First, altars, votive offerings, and testimonia all offer evidence that Herakles had a strong cult role at many sanctuaries of Asklepios. The pairing of Asklepios and Herakles at important healing cult sites, Epidauros, for instance, may indicate a close relationship between the cult functions of the two gods.[39] Secondly, his cult epithet, Alexikakos, averter of evil, may have specific reference to his ability to cure disease. Aelius Aristides (40.14–15, when discussing the epithet, says Herakles received it first of all the gods. He goes on to report a paean which had the refrain "Oh Paean Herakles Asklepios" and interprets this as an appropriate union since "in care of the body...Herakles is of importance."

Since Aristides is antiquity's most famous hypochondriac, his judgment on matters medical should be trusted.[40] The epithet is used on an altar from Epidauros,[41] and, most importantly, a *scholium* on the text of Aristophanes' *Frogs* (*ad* 501) reports that a statue of Herakles Alexikakos was set up in the sanctuary of Herakles in Melite, a deme of Athens, in response to plague.[42] Thus a cult of Herakles Alexikakos was established in Athens as a public health measure against the effects of plague perhaps as early as the beginning of the fifth century BCE, but certainly by the last quarter. And thirdly, several inscriptions dedicated to Herakles refer specifically to curative abilities and offer votive thanks to the hero for cures.[43]

The final requirement of the prophecy as stated in the play is that Neoptolemus and Philoktetes fight together at Troy. Neoptolemus, as his very name indicates, is new to war, therefore a young man or ephebe.[44] The chorus, Odysseus, and Philoktetes all refer to him as παῖ or τέκνον.[45] All of the older male characters in the play feel compelled to teach Neoptolemus lessons about life and war, but he gets conflicting messages. His instruction in deceit as a viable tactic will serve as an example.

In the opening, Odysseus attempts to instruct Neoptolemus in the arts of deceit and the importance of fast-talking, for he says, "Now going into trials among men, I see the tongue leading everything, not the work" (νῦν δ᾽ εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξιὼν ὁρῶ βροτοῖς/ τὴν γλῶσσαν, οὐχὶ τἄργα, πάνθ᾽ ἡγουμένην, lines 98–99). Neoptolemus balks at the suggestion of lying (line 108), but Odysseus convinces him there is no shame in it, in order to win the prize (lines 111 and 117). On the other hand, Philoktetes clearly believes that deception is not the way to win men's praise. He lauds Neoptolemus' character as being similar to that of his honorable father (lines 260, 468, and 904–905), and urges him to act and speak according to his own nature. As Neoptolemus leads Philoktetes to the ship, deprived of his bow during his painful fit, the young man begins to doubt the principle of his mission, and blurts out his deception. Philoktetes begs him to reconsider and return the bow, saying, "Pity me, by the gods. Do not bring men's blame on yourself, having deceived me" (ἐλέησον, ὦ παῖ, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ μὴ παρῇς/ σαυτοῦ βροτοῖς ὄνειδος, ἐκκλέψας ἐμέ, lines 967–968). Neoptolemus is buffeted between the advice of these two older men, between Odysseus' expediency at the expense of nobility and Philoktetes' stubborn adherence to unassailable codes of heroic behavior. His attempts to comply with each man's precepts and gradual understanding that they cannot be reconciled, makes him take his own path, an action which threatens to derail the presumed conclusion to the story.[46] However, Herakles provides the final instruction to all, including the young son of Achilles.

Herakles had many connections with youth in myth and in cult, and was a patron divinity of the ephebate. He married Hebe (Pind., *Nem.*

1.69–72), youth personified, and he gave youth as a gift to Iolaos when he offered to fight on behalf of the Herakleidae. He was a patron of the youths of Athens and elsewhere, since, along with Hermes, he was one of the gods of the gymnasium (e.g., at Kynosarges, the Academy, Melite, Marathon, Tetrakomos, Megalopolis, Patras, Messene, Thebes.)[47] Most importantly, literary testimonia and reliefs connect Herakles to an offering by youths entering the ephebate at the Apatouria, a festival celebrating new members of the phratries in Athens.[48]

Athenaeus (11.494) preserves notice of this special ritual that the young men of Athens performed as they became ephebes: "At Athens, those who were about to become ephebes, before they cut off the lock of hair, brought a measure of wine as an offering to Herakles, and after they had poured a libation, gave it to their companions to drink; this libation is called *oinisteria*."[49] Depictions of Herakles standing next to a *tetrakionion*, or four-columned naiskos, may very well illustrate this ritual.[50] An Attic relief in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Figure 14.1)[51] shows Herakles and Hermes standing next to a *tetrakionion* on top of which is balanced a *lebes*. The stylobate of the Doric naiskos in the relief bears an inscription

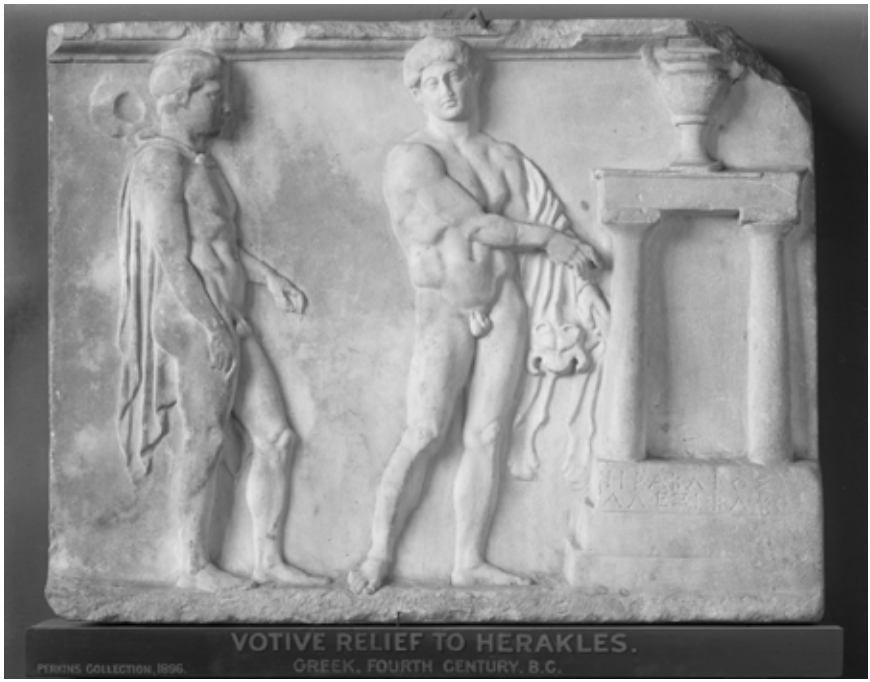

Figure 14.1. Votive relief of Herakles Alexikakos, first half of fourth century BCE.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts 96.696. Photo courtesy Digital Photo Resources, MFA Boston.

to Herakles Alexikakos, his healing cult epithet discussed above. Hermes and Herakles, as gods of the gymnasium, were concerned with young men, and the *lebes* on top of this structure may allude to the wine libations, the *oinisteria*, made by ephebes to Herakles as they pass into manhood.[52] Herakles' role in the rituals of youth in Athens would make him a believable guide for the ephebe Neoptolemus, about to veer off course.[53]

In the end, Neoptolemus finds a way to interact in the world of men. By returning the bow to Philoktetes, he demonstrates that he understands the value of *philia*, friendship with another man. Herakles guides that friendship along the right paths at the end of the play (lines 1434–1437):

οὔτε γὰρ σὺ τοῦδ᾽ ἄτερ σθένεις
ἑλεῖν τὸ Τροίας πεδίον οὔθ᾽ οὗτος σέθεν.
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς λέοντε συννόμω φυλάσσετον
οὗτος σὲ καὶ σὺ τόνδ᾽ . . .

You shall not have the strength to capture Troy
without this man, nor he without you,
but, like twin lions hunting together,
he shall guard you, and you him.

The use of the dual form stresses the dependence of Philoktetes and Neoptolemus on one another, and is an echo of Homeric diction.[54] The code of the old heroic warrior is being invoked here, the reliance of men in battle on one another for support, protection, and comfort. It is a lesson that every ephebe must have learned either in theory or in practice.[55] Neoptolemus and Philoktetes are aptly instructed in it by Herakles—both to remind the older man of his duty and the younger man of his requirement to serve.

CONCLUSION

The apotheotic vision of Herakles at the end of this play was stunning and was meant to alert the Athenian audience to another source of divine advice for themselves. The play dates to 409 BCE and the population that rewarded it with a first place in the City Dionysia had been embroiled in a martial conflict for over twenty years.[56] Surely they had seen a whole generation of older men return home wounded, both physically and emotionally, dripping with bitterness, and unable to marshal and encourage the new crop of ephebic recruits.[57] The domestic effects of the prolonged Peloponnesian struggle were starvation and plague in the city, echoing Philoktetes' complaints. There must have been many a political Odysseus in Athens, looking for a *magic bow* to end the perpetual hostilities,

without showing concern for compensation to those who had already suffered for the war effort. But in Athens, as in this drama, not only was military strength needed, but a certain amount of healing and cooperation between generations were also required for success.

Sophokles was very involved in the religious life of the city. A later source states that, according to Hieronymus, he was more pious than anyone else.[58] His special interest seemed to be healing cult. He held a priesthood of the hero, Halon, who was tutored by Chiron along with Asklepios.[59] He is credited with the composition of a paean for Asklepios. Still other sources claim that Sophokles gave hospitality to Asklepios in his home for which he was later worshipped as Dexion, meaning "the one who has received."[60] Two third-century BCE inscriptions record dedications to this Dexion alongside Amynos and Asklepios.[61] Other stories report that Herakles appeared to Sophokles in a dream to encourage him to inform on the thief of either a golden bowl or a golden crown from his sanctuary.[62] With these traditions in mind it is tempting to view Sophokles' version of the Philoktetes myth as a didactic tool to instruct the Athenians in the relatively new cult of Herakles in the city. He might have recognized in the hero-god Herakles an inspirational force to guide the beleaguered Athenians. Here was a god that crushed the aggressive, healed the sick, and mentored the transition of boys into manhood. The inexorable progress of the Peloponnesian War finds an appropriate mythological paradigm in the endless siege of the Troy, and Herakles and his abilities are invoked to effect its termination.[63]

NOTES

1. How appropriate it is to offer my gratitude and admiration to John Camp, the dedicatee of this volume, in a footnote on the *deus ex machina,* for John manifested as a guide and inspiration to me in my graduate career as surprisingly and powerfully as Herakles in this play. As many other authors in this volume, I enrolled in my regular year (1989-1990) at the ASCSA while John was the Mellon professor. He modeled so excellently the many different ways the ancient world could be engaged in our studies, and he reminded us in our travels of the privileges, the responsibilities, and the great joy that work in archaeology and Classics carries, a lesson that stays with me today.

This paper retains the term *deus ex machina* for Herakles' epiphany, although a divinity could appear by merely stepping onto a *theologeion* on the roof of the *skene*. The difference between the *deus ex machina* and the *theologeion* is one of motion. The former moves and the latter is static. See Nicolaos C. Hourmouziades, *Production and Imagination in Euripides: Form and Function of the Scenic Space*. (Athens: Greek Society for Humanistic Studies, 1965), 146–169.

2. The literature on Sophokles' use of a Herakles *ex machina* to resolve and conclude the play is extensive. Good summaries can be found in Seth L. Schein, "Herakles and the Ending of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 19 (2001): 43–45; Mary Whitlock Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 220–222; Richard Hamilton, "Neoptolemus' Story in the *Philoctetes*," *American Journal of Philology* 96 (1975): 135, n. 17; Ivan M. Linforth, "Philoctetes, the Play and the Man," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 15 (1956): 150–152.

3. Christopher Gill, "Bow, Oracle, and Epiphany in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," *Greece & Rome 27* (1980): 144. A similar statement by P. E. Easterling, "Philoctetes and Modern Criticism," *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978): 33: "This final stage in the action seems to me unintelligible if it is not genuinely organic, if it is only Sophocles making a gesture towards the received tradition." Spira's careful study [Andreas Spira, *Untersuchungen zum Deus ex machina bei Sophokles und Euripides* (Kallmünz/Opf.: M. Lassleben, 1960)] of the *deus ex machina* in the Philoktetes concludes that it is not just a mere stage device but that Sophokles attained the feel of a real theophany.

4. Other scholars have noted this aspect of the play: Philip Whaley Harsh, "The Role of the Bow in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles," *American Journal of Philology* 81 (1960): 412; Harry C. Avery, "Heracles, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus," *Hermes 93* (1965): 291–292; Schein, "Herakles," 47–49.

5. Sophokles is the earliest literary source to preserve the tale (*LIMC* 8:376–377, s.v. Philoktetes [M. Pipili]). In representational art, three red-figure vases, dated to between 460–450 BCE, depict Herakles' funerary pyre with an additional pair of male legs nearby, but inscriptions do not unequivocally identify them as being those of Philoktetes (*LIMC* 8:378–379, nos. 3, 4, 10, s.v. Philoktetes [M. Pipili]).

6. A *scholion* to the first line of Sophokles' play states "Euripides attributes everything to Odysseus, but Sophokles introduces Neoptolemus."

7. As Schein, "Herakles," 46–47, points out, Athenians would be familiar with the cult of Herakles in Attica and thus would easily accept his *ex machina* appearance. Stephen J. Harrison, "Sophocles and the Cult of Philoctetes," *JHS* 109 (1989): 173–175, posits an aetiology for a cult of Philoktetes in Herakles' speech.

8. Hom., *Il*. 2.716–733; *Cypria* (Malcolm Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988], 32, lines 64–66), *Ilias Parva* (Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 52, lines 6–9 and 11–12). For the tradition, see Oscar Mandel, *Philoctetes and the Fall of Troy. Plays, Documents, Iconography, Interpretations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 3–10.

9. Specifically Thaumakia, Methone, Meliboia, and Olizon, all in the region of Magnesia.

10. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 52, lines 6–9 and 11–12.

11. Soph., *Phil*. 607, 801–803; Diod. Sic. 4.38.4; Tzetz., *Scholion on Lycophron* 914–915; Hyg., *Fab*. 36, 102; Ovid, *Met*. 9.229–234; Sen., *Hercules Oetaeus* 1485-1487. and 1648-1649. Apollod., *Bibl*. 2.7.7, states that Philoktetes' father, Poias, lit the fire and got the bow.

12. See Mandel, *Philoctetes and the Fall of Troy*, 18, for a reasonable analysis of why Philoktetes, once drafted into the Trojan War again by storytellers, was given the weapons of Herakles.

13. Hans Joachim Mette, *Der Verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 100.

14. Carl W. Müller, *Euripides Philoktet. Testimonie und Fragmente* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), collects the *testimonia* and fragments of this lost play.

15. Several scholars have attempted a reconstruction of Euripides' play from the fragments and Dio Chrys. 59: see, e.g., Luigi A. Milani, *Il mito di Filottete nella letteratura classica e nell'arte figurate* (Florence: Coi tipi dei sucessori Le Monnier, 1879), 34–41, and William M. Calder III, "A Reconstruction of Euripides' *Philoctetes*," in *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson,* ed. Otto Mørkholm and Nancy M. Waggoner (Wetteren, Belgium: NR, 1979), 53–62.

16. See Calder, "Reconstruction," 60, and Mandel, *Philoctetes and the Fall of Troy*, 102, n. 9, plates. 4, 5. The representation is on an Augustan silver cup (the so-called Hoby cup), now in Copenhagen in the Danish National Museum (acc. no. 9/20).

17. Calder, "Reconstruction," 60–61.

18. See Charles Segal, "Nature and the World of Man in Greek Literature," *Arion* 2 (1963): 38–39, for a perceptive discussion of Philoktetes' relationship with the natural environment on Lemnos.

19. On the chorus see Rachel Kitzinger, *The Choruses of Sophokles'* Antigone *and* Philoktetes. *A Dance of Words* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 71–135, and references therein.

20. Webster (Sophocles, *Philoctetes,* ed. T. B. L. Webster [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982], 66, n. 4), notes that the Athenian audience would recognize Malis as being on Mt. Oita.

21. Although Herakles' standard panoply is the bow, club, and lion-skin, there are other representations that show him with shield, greaves, and breastplate. Notably, these items are often depicted in scenes of his funerary pyre in vase paintings. See Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, ed. Webster, 114, note on line 727.

22. All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.

23. A. E. Hinds, "The Prophecy of Helenus in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," *Classical Quarterly 17* (1967): 169–180, provides a detailed analysis of the prophecy in the play.

24. David Seale, "The Element of Surprise in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 19 (1972): 95, eloquently describes Odysseus' 'obsession' with the bow.

25. Harsh, "Role of the Bow," 412 and n. 11, has the statistics: "Forms of the word τόξον occur some twenty-four times in the text, and there are numerous occurrences of ὅπλα, ἰός, βέλος. The imagery of archery, too, occurs, especially 'to miss the mark' (ἁμαρτάνω)."

26. Gill, "Bow, Oracle, and Epiphany," 137, states that the moral and religious ideas of the play "are conveyed partly through other dramatic means: the messages of the gods … and the visible object that stands at the center of the play, the bow of Herakles." Charles Segal, "Visual Symbols and Visual Effects in

Sophocles," *Classical World* 74 (1980): 132–133, comments on the visual impact of the bow in invoking Philoktetes' service to Herakles.

27. Diskin Clay, introduction to *Philoktetes*, by Sophokles, trans. Carl Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3–23, in his discussion of the bow, believes it is not seen until line 657, but Philoktetes in his first appearance uses the epideictic pronoun to refer to the bow as he describes its ability to provide food for him: ... γαστρὶ μὲν τὰ σύμφορα/τόξον τόδ' ἐξηύρισκε ... (lines 287–288).

28. Gill, "Bow, Oracle, and Epiphany," 138 and n. 3. Also Harsh, "Role of the Bow," 412, and John S. Kieffer, "Philoctetes and *Arete*," *Classical Philology* 37 (1942): 38–50.

29. For other accounts, *LIMC* 5:111–112, s.v. Herakles at Troy (J. Boardman).

30. In addition to the two Athenian examples at Marathon and Kynosarges, Philip V used Kynosarges as a garrison in 200 BCE; Hippokrates marshaled his troops in the Herakleion at Kalchedon (Xen., *Hell.* 5.1.10); in Chaironeia, in 338 BCE, the Greeks camped in the Herakleion (Dem,. *De cor.* 19.2); at Kaunus, Ptolemy recaptured the Herakleion held by enemy soldiers in 309 BCE (Diod. Sic. 20.27.2); at Pydna, Scipio Aemilianus camped in one with 120 horsemen, 200 Thracians and Cretans (Plut., *Vit. Aem.* 15.7); at Mantineia, the Spartan commander Agis utilizes the proximity of the Herakleion to several sinkholes, a natural military stratagem, to serve as his military base in 418 BCE; and at Syracuse, during the Sicilian expedition, Nikias camped at the Herakleion there, and when it was abandoned, the Syracusans could once again sacrifice to Herakles (Plut., *Vit. Nic.* 24.6).

31. When the arms of Herakles leave his sanctuary at Thebes before the battle of Leuktra, this is taken to mean that Herakles will be striding into battle with the Thebans and victory is assured (Xen., *Hell.* 6.4.7). When Archidamus is marching through the Peloponnesos and lightning flashes over a Herakleion, he uses this omen to exhort his troops (Xen., *Hell.* 7.1.3). Conversely, in a much later period, when lightning flattens the Herakleion at Patras before the battle of Actium, Antony rightly interprets it as a bad sign (Plut., *Vit. Ant.* 60.4).

32. Birgitta Bergquist, "Feasting of Worshippers or Temple and Sacrifice? The Case of Herakleion on Thasos," in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence*, ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Åström, 1998), 57–72.

33. Edmund Wilson's insightful essay, "The Wound and the Bow," suggests that at the same time Neoptolemus develops natural sympathy for Philoktetes' predicament, he also realizes that "they cannot have the irresistible weapon without its loathsome owner, who upsets the processes of normal life by his curses and his cries." (Edmund Wilson, "Philoctetes, the Wound and the Bow," in *The Wound and the Bow*, ed. Edmund Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), 294.

34. The symbolism of Philoktetes' disease has provided inspiration for other disciplines. Leder, in a thought-provoking article on illness and exile, uses the *Philoktetes* as a parallel for AIDS-related social rejections [Drew Leder, "Illness and Exile: Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," *Literature and Medicine* 9 (1990): 1–11]. In the same article a speculative diagnosis of "a chronic localized fungal infection, perhaps actinomycosis, extending into the bone," is proffered (Leder, "Illness and Exile," 1).

35. Penelope Biggs, "The Disease Theme in Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Philoctetes*, and *Trachiniae*," *Classical Philology* 61 (1966): 231–235, discusses the theme of illness

in disease in the *Philoktetes.* See also Nancy Worman, "Infection in the Sentence: Discourse of Disease in *Philoctetes*," *Arethusa* 33 (2000): 1-6, for a penetrating discussion of the imagery and the sound of disease in the language of the play.

36. Biggs, "Disease Theme," notes that repetitions of νόσος occur twenty-four times in the play, (page 231).

37. Christina Salowey, "Herakles and Healing Cult in the Peloponnesos," in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1994*, ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm and Athens: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 2002), 171–177.

38. Folkert T. van Straten, *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 88, and n. 242. Susan Woodford, *Exemplum Virtutis: A Study of Herakles in Athens in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C.* (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1966), 219–220, also collects the evidence for this cult.

39. At Epidauros, a poros stele records a dedication to Herakles Alexikakos (*IG* 4.1092; Panayiotes Kavvadias, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* [1894]: 20, no. 11). The site also revealed an altar (*IG* 4.1299; Panayiotes Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, vol. 1 [Athens, 1893], 46), and a statue base (*IG* 4.1091; Kavvadias, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου," 19, no. 10) with dedicatory inscriptions to Herakles.

40. See also Salowey, "Herakles and Healing Cult," 173.

41. *IG* 4.1299; Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 46.

42. A more detailed discussion of this sanctuary and its sculptural adornment can be found in Salowey, "Herakles and Healing Cult," 171; Andrew F. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 247–248; Susan Woodford, "Cults of Herakles in Attica," in *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann*, ed. David Gordon Mitten, John Griffths Pedley, and Jane Ayer Scott (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1971), 218–219; Brunilde S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 77–79, 88–89, and 112.

43. E.g., from ancient Geronthrai, an epigrammatic inscription of the fourth century BCE dedicates a spring to Herakles in gratitude for cures, *IG* 5.1119; *SEG* 11.913, 15.221, *CEG* 2.882, and Salowey, "Herakles and Healing Cult," 173.

44. The illustrious work of Vidal-Naquet has not only clarified the Athenian ephebeia (Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebia," in *The Black Hunter. Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World,* trans. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak [Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986], 106–127) but also argued the case for Neoptolemus being equated as an ephebe transitioning to manhood during the course of the play (Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and the Ephebeia," in *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, ed. Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, trans. Janet Lloyd [New York, Zone Books, 1988], 161-180, especially pages 168–173).

45. Avery, "Heracles, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus," 287, does the statistics on this: Neoptolemus is called παῖ or τέκνον sixty-eight times in the play; fifty-two times by Philoktetes himself.

46. This possible inversion of the expected outcome of the play could be interpreted as a reflection of a pattern of reversal seen in initiatory rituals, but it is

outside the scope of this paper to analyze that here. For a discussion of this aspect of ephebic initiation, see Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter." For an application of Vidal-Naquet's theories to the *Hippolytus*, see Robin Mitchell-Boyask, "Euripides' *Hippolytus* and the Trials of Manhood (The Ephebeia?)," in *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, ed. Mark W. Padilla (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1999), 42–66.

47. Joint votive dedications to Herakles and Hermes are connected with many gymnasia (Erwin Ohlemutz, "Hermes und Herakles," in *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* [Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellsch, 1968], 230–243). The dual cult of Hermes and Herakles flourished after the time of Alexander the Great. The sites where the dual cult is associated with a gymnasium are: Aigai, Akraiphnion (*IG* 7.4134), Amorgos (*IG* 12.7, 257), Apameia Kibotos (*JHS* 55 [1935], 71–75, no. 1), Delos (*IDélos* nos. 138, 177), Halikarnassos (Gustav Hirschfeld, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, vol. 4.1, *Knidos, Halikarnassos and Branchidae* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893], 898, 905), Kyrene (*SEG* 9:4), Megalopolis (Paus. 8.32.4), Melos (*IG* 12:3.1091), Miletos (Albert Rehm and Peter Herrmann, *Inschriften von Milet*, vol. 1, *Inschriften n. 187–406* [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997], 1.9, 182, no.368, lines 16–18), Nysa on the Meander (*BCH* 10 (1886), 520, no. 19), Pergamon (Ohlemutz, "Hermes und Herakles," 230–243), Pharbaithos, Egypt (*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1908, 799), Sebennytos (*Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* 26 [1904], 91, no. 3), Thera (*IG* 12, Suppl. 1314; *IG* 12:3.339–340), Thisbe (*IG* 7:2235). For Kynosarges, the Academy, Melite, Marathon, and the Tetrakomos, see Woodford, "Cults of Herakles in Attica," 214, and notes therein.

48. In later periods, outside Athens, sculptural representations of Herakles clearly associate him with ephebes. In the Peloponessos, the *hermeraklas*, a herm of Herakles, is often found inscribed with a list of ephebes or a dedication from ephebes. A third century BCE herm from the gymnasium at Messene was found near columnar ephebic inscriptions.

49. See also Poll. 6.22 and Hsch., s.v. οἰνιστήρια.

50. Marilena Carabatea, "Herakles and a 'Man in Need?'" in *Greek Offerings: Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman*, ed. Olga Palagia (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 136. Folkert T. van Straten, "The Lebes of Herakles. Note on a New Decree Stele from Eleusis," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 54 (1979): 189–191, also discusses a similar depiction on a decree stele from Eleusis. August Frickenhaus, "Das Herakleion von Melite," *AM* 36 (1911): 113–144, and Otto Walter, "Der Säulenbau des Herakles," *AM* 62 (1937): 48–49, first discussed the tetrakionion naiskos as a cult structure for Herakles. For all the depictions of Herakles at this columnar structure, see Boardman, *LIMC* 4:1.801–2, nos. 1368–1380.

51. Boston MFA 96.696. From Athens. Pentelic Marble. 0.53 X 0.68 meters. First half of the fourth century BCE George H. Chase and Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1963), 163.

52. van Straten, "The Lebes of Herakles," and Carabatea, "Herakles and a 'Man in Need?'" elaborate on the connection of the lebes with Herakles in iconography, a tie that was first noted by Walter, "Säulenbau des Herakles."

53. If one were to accept Winkler's controversial proposal that "chorus members were young men in (or viewed in relation to) military training," (John J. Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song: *Tragōidia and Polis*," in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, ed. John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990], 57), then Herakles' appearance as a divinity connected to military matters and the ephebate would be even more appropriate.

54. For others see James Davidson, "Homer and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," in *Stage Directions–Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley*, ed. Alan Griffiths (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London School of Advanced Study, 1995), 25–35.

55. Vidal-Naquet, "Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and the Ephebeia," 174, states that this is, in essence, "the oath that the ephebes swears, never to abandon his comrade in the ranks."

56. M. H. Jameson, "Politics and the *Philoctetes*," *Classical Philology* 51 (1956): 217-227, discusses some of the political implications of the play. Marina B. McCoy, *Wounded Heroes. Vulnerability as a Virtue in Ancient Greek Literature and Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), came out too recently to be taken into consideration completely in this article, but on page 65, it offers a reading of "Philoctetes' physical and emotional woundedness as a distinctly political problem."

57. Interestingly enough, Bryan Doerries, translator of the *Ajax* and the *Philoktetes*, in response to a request for a reading of his translations to a group of military leaders and war trauma specialists, initiated *The Philoctetes Project*, now called the *Theater of War* (http://www.outsidethewirellc.com/projects/theater-of-war/overview, accessed February 2012). He uses "Sophocles' plays to forge a common vocabulary for opening discussing the impact of war on individuals, families, and communities." His first reading was to Marine Corp veterans of Afghanistan and Iraq. His readings inspired the medical community to use the play as part of the training for medical students (see Abigail Zuger, "The Difficult Patient: A Problem as Old as History (or Older)," *New York Times,* March 6, 2007).

58. From the *Vita Sophoklis* 12, Stefan Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 4, *Sophocles* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Cop., 1977). For a translation, see Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), appendix 4.

59. *Vita Sophoklis* 11. For the epithet Dexion, also *Etym. Magn.* 256.6, s.v. Δεξίον. For the ode, Philostr., *V A* 3.17.

60. Plut., *Vit. Num*. 4.8 (*TrGF* T67). Andrew Connolly, "Was Sophocles Heroised as Dexion?" *JHS* 118 (1998): 1-21, discusses the evidence for and scholarly opinion of Sophokles' heroization as Dexion and argues that the Sophokles' connection to Asklepios was limited to the writing of a paean.

61. *IG* 2^2.1252–1253.

62. Hieronymos as reported in *Vita Sophoklis* 9; also Cic., *Div.* 1:54.

63. A version of this paper was given at the 1997 national meeting of *Classical Association of the Middle West and South.* I am grateful to the editors of this volume for their support and encouragement, and I am indebted to the anonymous reader of the paper who aided me immeasurably in the clarification of my argument.

✢

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